THE
British Plutarch;
OR,
BIOGRAPHICAL ENTERTAINER.

Being a SELECT COLLECTION *of*
The LIVES at large
Of the moſt EMINENT MEN,
Natives of *Great Britain* and *Ireland*:
From the Reign of HENRY VIII. to GEORGE II.
Both inclusive:

Whether diſtinguiſhed as
Stateſmen, | Warriors, | Poets,.....
Patriots,.... | Divines,... | Philoſophers.

Adorned with COPPER PLATES.

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BRITISH MUSEUM
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12
FEB

CONTENTS

OF THE

TENTH VOLUME.

Page

CLOUDESLY SHOVEL, - - - 1

Joſeph Addiſon, - - - - - - - 15

Samuel Clarke, - - - - - - - - 63

John Locke, - - - - - - - - 124

John Campbel, - - - - - - - - 182

CONTENTS

OF THE

TENTH VOLUME.

	Page
Cloudesley Shovel, - - - -	1
Joseph Addison, - - - - - - - -	15
Samuel Clarke, - - - - - - - -	63
John Locke, - - - - - - - -	124
John Campbell, - - - - - - - -	181

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FEB

Sir Cloudsley Shovel.

THE BRITISH PLUTARCH.

THE LIFE OF CLOUDESLY SHOVEL.

THIS experienced ſeaman was born in the year 1650, of parents but in middling circumſtances, who, having expectations from a relation of theirs called Cloudeſly, beſtowed that name upon their ſon, with a view of recommending him to his notice: but being diſappointed in their expectations, young Cloudeſly Shovel was put out apprentice to a ſhoemaker; and to this trade he applied himſelf for ſome years: but being of an aſpiring genius, and finding

finding no likelihood of raiſing his fortune this way, he went to ſea as a cabin-boy, under Sir Chriſtopher Mynns; when, after aſſiduouſly ſtudying navigation, for which he had a natural turn, ſoon became an able ſeaman, and quickly arrived at preferment, eſpecially from the recommendation of the famous Sir John Narborough, who having, by mere dint of capacity, raiſed himſelf to the higheſt honours of his profeſſion, was the generous patron of thoſe in whom he diſcovered any extraordinary merit.

After the concluſion of the ſecond Dutch war, our merchants were much haraſſed in the Mediterranean, by the Tripolitan corſairs, notwithſtanding the ſeveral treaties of peace concluded with them. As ſoon as the king, Charles II. in 1674, found himſelf at leiſure, he ſent a ſtrong ſquadron into thoſe parts, under Sir John Narborough, who arrived before Tripoli in the ſpring of that year; where, from the appearance of the enemy's ſtrength, and the nature of his inſtructions, which directed him to try negociation rather than force, he was induced to ſend to the dey of Tripoli, a perſon in whoſe capacity he could confide with moderate terms of accommodation, only to deſire ſatisfaction for what was paſt, and ſecurity for the future. The admiral pitched on Mr. Shovel to deliver this meſſage, which he did with uncommon ſpirit: but the dey, from a contempt of his youth, treated

treated him very diſreſpectfully, and at the ſame time diſmiſſed him with an indefinite anſwer.

Mr. Shovel, on his return, acquainted Sir John with the remarks he made on ſhore, and was ſent back again with another meſſage, inſtructed with proper rules for further enquiry, and obſervation. The dey treated Mr. Shovel worſe the ſecond time; but he bore it patiently, and made uſe of it as an excuſe for ſtaying longer on ſhore.

When he came back, he aſſured the admiral, that, notwithſtanding the lines and forts, it was practicable to burn the ſhips in the harbour. Accordingly, lieutenant Shovel, with all the boats filled with combuſtibles, boldly entered the port in the night of the fourth of March, 1675, and performed this ſervice, with a degree of ſucceſs which is hardly conceivable.

Nor was it long before Mr. Shovel was rewarded for his behaviour; for the honourable mention made of it by Sir John, in all his letters, Mr. Shovel was, the next year, 1676, made commander of the Saphire, a fifth rate; and ſoon after removed to the James galley, a fourth rate; where he continued till the death of king Charles II.

Prudential reaſons induced king James to employ captain Shovel, who, though he was far from being acceptable to him, had the command of the Dover, a fourth rate, given

to him; and in this ſituation was he at the revolution.

This event, ſo agreeable to the captain's own ſentiments, added to his activity, being almoſt in every engagement during that reign, rendered him very popular; for, in the engagement off Bautry-bay, he diſtinguiſhed himſelf ſo much, by his courage and conduct, in the Edgar, a third rate, that upon king William's coming down to Portſmouth, he was pleaſed to confer on him the honour of knighthood: and being employed, in June, 1691, to convoy king William and his army to Ireland, his majeſty was ſo highly pleaſed with his indefatigable care and conduct, that he not only appointed him rear-admiral of the blue, but alſo delivered him his commiſſion with his own hands.

On the tenth of July, king William receiving intelligence that the enemy intended to ſend above twenty ſmall frigates into St. George's channel, in order to burn the tranſports, he was ordered to cruize off Scilly, or in ſuch ſtation as he ſhould think proper for preventing that deſign. This he accordingly did till the twenty-firſt of July, without meeting with any thing remarkable; and then was joined by the Dover and Experiment, from the coaſt of Ireland, with a ketch which came out of Kinſale, on board of which were ſeveral officers who were following king James into France, to accompany him in his intended deſcent on England.

Sir

Sir Cloudeſly ſailed afterwards to Kinſale, where he ſoon had an opportunity of demonſtrating his zeal for the ſervice. General Kirke being, with a ſmall number of men before the ſtrong town of Waterford, could not take it, by reaſon of a numerous garriſon in Duncannon-caſtle, commanded by general Bourk: who gave out, that he would defend both the fort and the town to the laſt extremity, and as long as one ſtone remained upon another.

Sir Cloudeſly rightly judging, that this bravery, in a great meaſure, aroſe from the intelligence he had, that Mr. Kirke had not a ſingle cannon, ſent the latter word, that he would aſſiſt him not only with guns, but boats and men from his ſquadron: which propoſition being accepted by the general, the former ſurrendered the place before ſo much as one ſtone was beat from another.

The remainder of this year Sir Cloudeſly ſpent moſtly in cruizing, till he was ordered to join Sir George Rooke's ſquadron; which convoyed king William from Holland, and did not return to the Downs till January following.

It was Sir Cloudeſly's happineſs, that, as his courage and ſincerity were equally unqueſtionable, and his ſervices were well intended, they generally were well received; ſo that, if at any time he miſſed of ſucceſs, no body ever pretended to lay any imputations on his con-

duct. For this reaſon it gave the people very great ſatisfaction, when the king, in the ſpring of that year, 1692, before his ſetting out for Holland, declared him rear-admiral of the red, and alſo commander of the ſquadron which was to convoy him thither.

On the admiral's return, he joined the grand fleet under admiral Ruſſel, and had no ſmall ſhare in the glorious victory at la Hogue; for the French, after an engagement of ſome hours, breaking their line, and Tourville their admiral towing away northward, the Engliſh admiral gave the ſignal for chaſing, when it was diſcovered that all the enemy retired; at the ſame time, ſeveral broadſides were heard to the weſtward, though the ſhips that fired were not to be ſeen. This proved to be the brave Sir Cloudeſly, who, having weathered the admiral's own ſquadron, got between them and their admiral of the blue; but firing on the French for ſome time, both Tourville and the admiral of that ſquadron came to an anchor, but could not ſee each other by reaſon of the thickneſs of the weather.

In the ſucceeding year, 1693, the fleet was put under the joint command of Sir Cloudeſly Shovel, Killigrew, and Delaval, the two latter declared tories, and the former a determined whig; who, from a mature conſideration of the orders they had received from the court, and the bad condition of the fleet at that time, might, though of political principles diametri-

diametrically oppoſite, agree in this, that a cautious execution of their inſtructions, was the ſafeſt method they could take; ſo that there was no great reaſon for the ludicrous picture, publiſhed at this time by the Dutch, in which the taking of the Smyrna fleet was repreſented at a diſtance, and Sir Cloudeſly Shovel on board his own ſhip, with his hands tied behind him, each of his colleagues holding one end of the cord; as if he would have prevented this misfortune, had not Killegrew and Delaval prevented him.

But Sir Cloudeſly Shovel, upon an enquiry in parliament, defended both his colleagues and himſelf at the bar of the houſe, by ſo clear and plain an account of the matter, that all people were ſatisfied the commanders were innocent in point of treachery, which had been aſſerted by a vote of the houſe of commons.

Sir Cloudeſly's character, however, remaining unimpeached, we find him again, in the year 1694, employed in the Channel, and on the coaſt of France, as vice admiral of the red, under the command of lord Berkley, admiral of the blue, in the expedition to Carmaret bay; of which an account has been already given; and we ſhall only add, that Sir Cloudeſly diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his dextrous embarkation of the forces ſent on that unfortunate attempt; as alſo, when, on their return to England, the fleet was again ſent upon the

French coaſt, to bombard Dieppe and other places.

Towards the cloſe of the ſeaſon, lord Berkley going to London, the command devolved on Sir Cloudeſly; at which time, by his majeſty's expreſs command, he undertook the bombardment of Dunkirk; but this attempt proved unſucceſsful by the ſkill of the engineer: and, to ſhew that no blame could be laid on him, he went with a boat within the enemy's works; where he was an eye-witneſs of the impoſſibility of executing his orders: for which reaſon, on his return home, he was perfectly well received, and continued to be employed. He bore his ſhare in the remaining part of the war, and, after the concluſion of the peace of Ryſwick in 1695, was always conſulted by his majeſty in all maritime affairs.

In the beginning of the queen's reign, he ſeems not to have been much in favour, and therefore, though admiral of the white, was not employed in any thing of importance, till, in 1702, he was ſent to Vigo after Sir George Rooke had taken that place, in order to convoy home the ſpoils of the Spaniſh and French fleets.

Here he performed every thing with his uſual zeal and diligence; for, on his arrival at Vigo, on the ſixteenth of October, he uſed ſuch diſpatch, that he carried off whatever could be brought home; burnt the reſt; and, notwithſtanding the foulneſs of the ſhips, the

ſtormy

ſtormy weather, and incumbrance of prizes, he arrived ſafe in the Downs on the ſeventh of November.

In conſequence of this ſervice, the court reſolved to employ him in the moſt momentous affairs for the future; ſo that, in 1703, the command of the grand fleet up the Streights was conferred on him; where he did every thing in his power: for, though his inſtructions were very large, yet he wanted force to accompliſh any part of what they contained. Such conjunctures as theſe are the touchſtone of an admiral's ſkill and capacity, of which Sir Cloudeſly gave eminent proofs in this expedition; for he protected our trade from all attempts of the French; did all in his power for the relief of the Proteſtants in Cevennois; he countenanced ſuch of the Italian princes and ſtates as were favourable to the cauſe of the allies: and ſtruck ſuch a panic into thoſe of them who were friends to the French, that they durſt not perform what they had promiſed to that court.

This he did with a fleet indiffefently manned, and ſtill worſe victualled; inſomuch that when the management of our maritime affairs was ſeverely cenſured that year in the houſe of commons, all parties agreed Sir Cloudeſly had done his duty in every reſpect.

In 1704, Sir George Rooke having the command of the grand fleet in the Mediterranean, Sir Cloudeſly was ſent with a powerful

quadron to reinforce him; and, by joining the fleet in the midſt of the month of June, was very inſtrumental in the ſucceſs which followed: as thereby diſappointing all the French ſchemes, though that nation boaſted, they ſhould be able, that ſummer, to reſtore their maritime power, and give law to the allies at ſea.

He bore a part in the glorious action at Malaga, on the thirteenth of Auguſt, 1700; in which he behaved with the utmoſt bravery, and had the good fortune to eſcape very well, tho', as he himſelf writ in his letter, he never in his life took more pains to be well beat: and was far from aſſuming to himſelf the glory of beating the French, while Sir George Rooke only looked on, or fought at a diſtance; the contrary of which is evident from his own letter. After this victory, which happened in the year 1705, the French never durſt face our fleets.

Upon Sir Cloudeſly Shovel's return, he was preſented to the queen by prince George, as lord-high-admiral, and was very graciouſly received; and next year, it becoming neceſſary to ſend both a fleet and army into Spain, he accepted of the joint-command of the former with the earl of Peterborough.

Accordingly, in June, arriving at Liſbon with the fleet, which conſiſted of twenty-nine line of battle ſhips, towards the end of that month he ſailed from thence to Catalonia, and

on

on the twelfth of Auguſt came before Barcelona, where the ſiege of that place had been undertaken by the Engliſh army, though very little ſuperior to the garriſon within the town.

Never was a more untoward ſituation than that in which Sir Cloudeſly found himſelf here; for, beſides a difference of opinion which prevailed among the land-officers, concerning the impracticability of the ſcheme, and the prince of Heſſe and the earl of Peterborough diſagreeing, all things neceſſary for carrying on the ſiege were wanting; ſo that their whole dependance was on admiral Shovel; nor was that great man wanting in his zeal for the ſervice of the public: he ſupplied the batteries both with guns and men, and the army with military-ſtores. In ſhort, it was principally owing to him that the place was then taken.

Sir Cloudeſly was alſo commander the next year, 1706, but did not arrive at Liſbon before the month of November: he, however, did all that could be expected from him, though his endeavours had not the wiſhed-for ſucceſs. The generals and favourites of king Charles were ſo divided in their ſentiments, that nothing could be expected from their councils; nor was it in the power of Sir Cloudeſly to bring about a reconciliation between them, though the whole ſucceſs, and even the placing their maſter on the throne of Spain, abſolutely depended upon it.

At the beginning of the year 1707, Sir Cloudeſly had diſpoſed every thing in the moſt advantageous manner poſſible for ſecuring Alicant; and had probably ſucceeded, had not the troops, by an order from England, again embarked for the expedition againſt Toulon.

This attempt on Toulon, was the laſt ſervice Sir Cloudeſly ever performed; for having left at Gibraltar three fifth rates, and one ſixth, for the ſecurity of the coaſts of Italy, under the command of Sir Thomas Dilkes, he ſailed, with ten ſhips of the line, five frigates, four fireſhips, a ſloop, and a yatcht, for England.

On the morning of the twenty-ſecond of October, the fleet came into the ſoundings, and lay to about noon. At ſix in the evening the admiral made ſail; but ſoon after, ſeveral of the fleet, and, among the reſt, the admiral's own ſhip, made ſignals of diſtreſs, and preſently ſtruck upon the rocks of Scilly. The Royal Anne, commanded by Sir George Byng, was near ſharing the ſame fate, one of the rocks being cloſe under her main chains; nor were the ſhips of Sir John Norris and lord Durſley at any great diſtance. Several young gentlemen of quality were on board the admiral's ſhip, and periſhed with him.

To what this unhappy accident was owing, is ſtill a ſecret; that they were all miſtaken in their reckoning is evident, but how ſuch a fatal miſtake happened was never known. A report indeed prevailed at that time, that the principal part of the crews had got drunk for

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joy of their being ſo near their country; but it is not natural to think that the officers, eſpecially thoſe who directed the ſhip's courſe, could be guilty of ſuch an unguarded action, whatever the common ſailors might.

The next day the body of Sir Cloudeſly was thrown upon the ſhore of one of the iſlands of Scilly, where he was found by ſome fiſhermen, who, after ſtripping him, and taking from his finger an emerald ring of great value, buried him in the ſand. But Mr. Paſton, purſer of the Arundel, being on ſhore in the iſland, and hearing that ſuch a ring had been found, ſent for the perſons, and, after declaring the ring belonged to Sir Cloudeſly Shovel, obliged them to diſcover where they had buried the body; which he took up, and brought it in his own ſhip to Portſmouth, from whence it was conveyed to London, and depoſited with great funeral pomp in Weſtminſter-abbey; where a coſtly monument of white marble was afterwards erected, by the queen's particular order, to convey to poſterity the memory of a man who had done ſuch eminent ſervice to his country.

Sir Cloudeſly Shovel was an accompliſhed ſea-officer, and always diſcharged the truſt repoſed in him with the greateſt honour and integrity: he was a true lover of his country, and always exerted himſelf for the honour of his ſovereign. In private life, he was an indulgent huſband, a tender parent, and a ſincere friend; it is therefore no wonder, that few

men ever lived more beloved, or died more lamented.

He married the widow of Sir John Narborough, his great friend and patron; and left, at his death, two daughters; the eldeſt of whom married lord Romney, and the youngeſt Sir Narborough d'Aeth, baronet.

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Joseph Addison Esq.r

THE LIFE OF JOSEPH ADDISON.

JOSEPH ADDISON, ſon of Lancelot Addiſon, dean of Litchfield, was born at Milſton, near Ambros-bury, in the county of Wilts, of which place his father was then rector, on the firſt of May, 1672; and, being not thought likely to live, was baptized on the ſame day, as appears from the church-regiſter.

One may juſtly wonder, that, in the account given of Mr. Addiſon, in Wood's hiſtory of the Oxford writers, his true age ſhould be ſet down, and yet that it ſhould eſcape Mr. Tickell. This is of ſome importance, becauſe it changes the whole chronology of his life, and that too in favour of the author. He became a demy of Magdalen College in Oxford, by merit, at the age of ſeventeen. Is not the bare relation of this the higheſt panegyric on Mr. Addiſon? It was here he became acquainted with Mr. Sacheverell, who was exactly of his own age, and of a very promiſing genius too, ſince we find a tranſlation of part of the firſt Georgic of Virgil, inſerted in the Examen Poeticum, for the year 1693, the ſame

ſame volume in which Mr. Addiſon's firſt Engliſh verſes appeared; and, as Mr. Addiſon's verſes were addreſſed to Mr. Dryden, ſo Mr. Sacheverell's tranſlation was dedicated to him. Thoſe who remembered Mr. Addiſon at college, affirmed, that his temper was the ſame it appeared ever afterwards; that is to ſay, his abilities were exceededed by nothing but his modeſty.

When he grew up to an age fit for going to ſchool, he was put under the care of the reverend Mr. Naiſh, at Ambros-bury. He was afterwards removed to a ſchool at Saliſbury, taught by the reverend Mr. Taylor; and thence to the Charter-houſe, where he was under the tuition of the learned Dr. Ellis, and where he contracted an intimacy with Mr. Steele, afterwards Sir Richard, which laſted as long as Mr. Addiſon lived.

He was not above fifteen when he went to the univerſity of Oxford, where he was entered of Queen's College, in which his father had ſtudied. He cloſely addicted himſelf at this time with ſuch diligence to claſſical learning, that he acquired an elegant Latin ſtyle before he arrived at that age in which lads uſually begin to write good Engliſh.

A paper of his verſes in that tongue, fell, by accident, in the year 1687, into the hands of Dr. Lancaſter, dean of Magdalen College, who was ſo well pleaſed with them, that he immediately procured their author's election into

into that houſe, where he took his degrees of bachelor and maſter of arts.

His Latin poetry, in the courſe of a few years, was exceedingly admired in both the univerſities, and juſtly gained him the reputation of a great poet before his name was ſo much as known in town.

It is not very certain at what age our author wrote ſome of the Latin poems which have been publiſhed; however, they were certainly written very early, and they ſtill retain that high eſteem which was firſt conceived of them. They were publiſhed in the ſecond volume of Muſarum Anglicanarum Analecta, ſeu Poemata quædam melioris notæ, ſeu hactenus inedita, ſeu ſparſim edita. They were eight in all, but very probably they are not placed in the order of time in which they were written.—1. Pax Gulielmi Auſpiciis Europæ reddita, 1697; i. e. Peace under the Auſpice of William reſtored to Europe. 2. Barometri Deſcriptio; i. e. A Deſcription of the Barometer. 3. ΠΥΓΜΑΙΟΓΕΡΑΝΟΜΑΧΙΑ, ſive Prælium inter Pigmæos & Grues commiſſum; i. e. A Battle between the Pigmies and the Cranes. 4. Reſurrectio delineata ad altare Coll. Magd. Oxon. i. e. A Poem upon the Reſurrection, being a Deſcription of the Painting over the Altar in Magdalen College at Oxford. 5. Sphæriſterium; i. e. the Bowling-green. 6. Ad D. D. Hannes inſigniſſimum Medicum & Poetem; i. e. To Dr. Hannes, an excellent

phyſician

Phyſician and Poet, an Ode. 7. Machinæ geſticulantes, Anglice; A Puppet-ſhow. 8. Ad inſigniſſimum Virum D. T. Burnettum, Sacræ Theoriæ Telluris Authorem; i e. To the celebrated Dr. Thomas Burnet, Author of the Theory of the Earth, an Ode.——Theſe poems have been tranſlated into Engliſh by Dr. George Sewell, of Peter houſe, Cambridge; Mr. Newcomb, and Nicholas Amhurſt, eſqrs. both of Oxford.

He was twenty-two years of age before he publiſhed any thing in our language, and then came abroad a copy of verſes addreſſed to Mr. Dryden; which procured him immediately, and that very deſervedly, from the beſt judges in that nice age, a great reputation, being as correct and perfect as any thing which even himſelf afterwards produced.

Some little ſpace intervening, he ſent into the world a tranſlation of the fourth Georgic of Virgil (omitting the ſtory of Ariſtæus) exceedingly commended by Mr. Dryden. He wrote alſo that diſcourſe on the Georgics which is prefixed to them, by way of preface, in Mr. Dryden's tranſlation, and is allowed to be one of the juſteſt pieces of criticiſm in our own or in any other language.

It would be equally tedious and impertinent to dwell in this place on every little piece publiſhed by our author. It is a kind of charity to illuſtrate the beauties of an obſcure author, but to us it appears a ſort of detraction, to

ſuppoſe

ſuppoſe that the worth of any of Mr. Addiſon's poems ſhould be unknown to our readers: we will therefore confine ourſelves to ſuch parts of his works as have any circumſtances relating to them which ought to be preſerved, as a kind of hiſtorical commentary, for the uſe rather of poſterity than of the preſent times.

Mr. Tickell, in his preface to the works of Mr. Addiſon, expreſſes a kind of ſurprize, that Mr. Dryden, who ſo readily owned the verſion of the fourth Georgic ſent him by Mr. Addiſon, ſhould not take notice of his having communicated the Eſſay on the Georgics, ſince it came from the ſame hand.

Sir Richard Steele took occaſion to vindicate Mr. Dryden, by ſhewing, firſt, that the Eſſay upon the Georgics, is the ſame with the preface prefixed to thoſe poems in Mr. Dryden's tranſlation of Virgil's works; which, ſecondly, is owned to have come from a friend, whoſe name is not mentioned becauſe he deſired to have it concealed.

If any one ſhould enquire, why Mr. Addiſon was content the world ſhould know he tranſlated one of Virgil's Georgics, and at the ſame time deſired to conceal his writing what Mr. Dryden placed as a preface to his tranſlation of the Georgics, it will be no difficult thing to ſatisfy him. The verſion was what many people had done, and any body might do, but the eſſay was an untryed ſtrain of criticiſm, which bore a little hard on the old

profeſſors

profeſſors of that art, and therefore was not ſo fit for a young man to take upon himſelf. In this light, Mr. Dryden's juſtice, and Mr. Addiſon's prudence, are alike conſpicuous. The former was above aſſuming unjuſtly the praiſe of other people's writings; and the latter was remarkable for keeping ſo ſtrict a rein upon his wit, that it never got the ſtart of his wiſdom.

The next year he wrote ſeveral poems of different kinds; amongſt the reſt, one, dated the third of April, 1694, directed to Mr. H. S. that is, Henry Sacheverell, who was afterwards ſo famous.

Among all our author's poems, there is not one which is more properly an original, than this account of the greateſt Engliſh poets, to Mr. Henry Sacheverell; nor will a judicious reader find more pleaſure in reading any of his works, than in peruſing this. The judgment of a great poet on the writings of his predeceſſors, written in the dawn of his days, when, without doubt, he ſpoke more freely than he would afterwards have done, muſt always be conſidered as a curioſity.

We ſhould not however have ſtopped at this poem, had it not been to quote ſome lines from it, which, if carefully conſidered, ſeem to carry in them ſome memoirs of our author's life.

Towards the concluſion of the poem, he ſays,

Con-

Congreve, whoſe fancy's unexhauſted ſtore
Has given already much, and promis'd more,
Congreve ſhall ſtill preſerve thy fame alive,
And Dryden's muſe ſhall in his friend ſurvive.

I'm tir'd with rhyming, and wou'd fain give o'er,
But juſtice ſtill demands one labour more;
The noble Montagu remains unnam'd,
For wit, for humour, and for judgment fam'd.
To Dorſet he directs his artful muſe
In numbers, ſuch as Dorſet's ſelf might uſe.
How negligently graceful he unreins
His verſe, and writes in looſe familiar ſtrains,
How Naſſau's godlike acts adorns his lines,
And all the hero in full glory ſhines.
We ſee his armies ſet in juſt array,
And Boyne's dy'd waves run purple to the ſea,
Nor Simois, choak'd with men, and arms, and blood,
Nor rapid Xanthus' celebrated flood,
Shall longer be the poet's higheſt themes,
Tho' gods and heroes fought promiſcuous in their ſtreams:
But now to Naſſau's ſecret councils rais'd,
He aids the hero whom before he prais'd.

Two remarks may be made on theſe lines: the firſt, that Mr. Congreve, about this time, had introduced Mr. Addiſon to the acquaintance of the chancellor of the Exchequer, as Sir Richard

Richard Steele informs us; the other, that Mr. Sacheverell had not as yet any qualms about the revolution, otherwiſe his friend would not have wrote to him in theſe terms. This is very honourable for our author, ſince it makes it clear, that, when he differed afterwards with this gentleman, he did not differ from himſelf, but adhered to thoſe principles which Sacheverell had deſerted.

The following year he began to have higher views, which diſcovered themſelves in a poem to king William, on one of his campaigns, addreſſed to the lord-keeper Sir John Somers.

That judicious ſtateſman received this mark of a young author's attachment with great humanity; took Mr Addiſon thenceforward into the number of his friends; and gave him, upon all occaſions, ſignal proofs of a ſincere eſteem.

He had been very preſſingly ſollicited, while at the univerſity, to enter into holy orders; which he ſeemed once reſolved on, probably in reſpect to his father; but his great modeſty inclining him to doubt of his own abilities, he receded from his choice, and, having ſhewn an inclination to travel, his before-mentioned patron, out of zeal for his country, as well as reſpect to Mr. Addiſon, procured him from the crown an annual penſion of three hundred pounds; which enabled him to make a tour to Italy in the latter end of 1699.

This

This conduct of Mr. Addiſon, with reſpect to the prieſthood, hath occaſioned ſome diſpute. Let us ſupport, however, what already is advanced; viz. that he had once made a kind of reſolution to go into orders. His own words will beſt prove this: he concludes the poem to Mr. Sacheverell thus:

I've done at length; and now, dear friend, receive
The laſt poor preſent that my muſe can give.
I leave the arts of poetry and verſe
To them that practiſe them with more ſucceſs:
Of greater truths I'll now prepare to tell,
And ſo, at once, dear friend, and muſe, farewell.

Mr. Tickell, ſpeaking of theſe lines, adds, after telling us that he founded this reſolution on the importunities of his father, the following account of his abandoning that deſign.

"His remarkable ſerioufneſs and modeſty, which might have been urged as powerful reaſons for his chuſing that life, proved the chief obſtacles to it. Theſe qualities, by which the prieſthood is ſo much adorned, repreſented the duties of it as too weighty for him, and rendered him ſtill more worthy of that honour which they made him decline."

Sir Richard Steele, ſpeaking to Mr. Congreve of this paſſage, ſays,

"Theſe

"These, you know very well, were not the reasons which made Mr. Addison turn his thoughts to the civil world; and, as you were the inducement of his becoming acquainted with my lord Hallifax, I doubt not but you remember the warm instances that noble lord made to the head of the college, not to insist upon Mr. Addison's going into orders: his arguments were founded upon the general pravity and corruption of men of business, who wanted liberal education; and I remember, as if I had read the letter yesterday, that my lord ended with a compliment, that, however he might be represented as no friend to the church, he would never do it any other injury, than keeping Mr. Addison out of it. The contention for this man, in his early years, among the people of the greatest power, Mr. Secretary Tickell, the executor for his fame, is pleased to ascribe to a serious visage and modesty of behaviour."

This last remark is equally ill-natured and ill-founded. Sir Richard introduces Mr. Addison's visage; but the seriousness Mr. Tickell spoke of, was the quality of his mind. The gentleman accounts for Mr. Addison's quitting his resolution; the knight talks of the pains other people took to prevent his following it: both the accounts might be true, but there was no necessity for inserting either in our account of his life; though it would

would have been wrong not to have acquainted the reader with ſo remarkable a paſſage.

His Latin poems, dedicated to Mr. Montagu, then chancellor of the Exchequer, were printed, before his departure, in the Muſæ Anglicanæ; and were as much admired abroad as they could poſſibly be at home, particularly by the great Boileau, who ſpoke of them in very obliging terms, and who was known to be both an able judge and one incapable of partiality.

It is from Mr. Tickell that we learn this circumſtance in relation to Boileau; it is therefore proper the reader ſhould ſee his own words.

"His country owes it to him (Mr. Addiſon) that the famous Monſieur Boileau firſt conceived an opinion of the Engliſh genius for poetry, by peruſing the preſent he made him of the Muſæ Anglicanæ. It has been currently reported, that this famous French poet, among the civilities he ſhewed Mr. Addiſon on that occaſion, affirmed, That he would not have written againſt Perrault, had he before ſeen ſuch excellent pieces written by a modern hand.

"Such a ſaying would have been impertinent, and unworthy Boileau, whoſe diſpute with Perrault turned chiefly upon ſome paſſages in the antients, which he reſcued from the miſrepreſentations of his adverſary.

"The true and natural compliment made by him, was, That thoſe books had given him a very new idea of the Engliſh politeneſs; and that he did not queſtion, but there were excellent compoſitions in the native language of a country that poſſeſſed the Roman genius in ſo eminent a degree."

In 1701, Mr. Addiſon wrote from Italy an epiſtolary poem to Montagu, lord Halifax. This was moſt juſtly admired as a finiſhed piece of its kind; and indeed ſome have pronounced it the very beſt of Mr. Addiſon's performances.

This poem was tranſlated by the abbot Antonio Maria Salvini, Greek profeſſor at Florence, into Italian verſe; which tranſlation is printed with the original, in Mr. Tickell's quarto edition of Mr. Addiſon's works.

It is not to be wondered that this poem is in the higheſt eſteem in Italy, ſince there are in it the beſt turned compliments on that country that are to be found in any language. Add to this, that the Italians muſt naturally apprehend their force, as well or better than ourſelves, on account of their familiarity with the objects therein deſcribed. It may likewiſe be obſerved, that the opening of this poem is peculiarly graceful, and alike honourable, for the writer and the patron.

While

While you, my lord, the rural ſhades admire,
And from Britannia's public poſts retire;
Nor longer, her ungrateful ſons to pleaſe,
For their advantage ſacrifice your eaſe;
Me into foreign realms my fate conveys,
Through nations fruitful of immortal lays;
Where the ſoft ſeaſon, and inviting clime,
Conſpire to trouble your repoſe with rhyme.

Lord Halifax had that year been impeached by the commons in parliament, for procuring exorbitant grants from the crown to his own uſe; and farther charged, with cutting down and waſting the timber in his majeſty's foreſts, and with holding ſeveral offices in the Exchequer, that were inconſiſtent, and deſigned as checks upon each other. The commons had likewiſe addreſſed the king, to remove him from his counſels and preſence for ever.

Theſe were the cauſes of his retiring, and Mr. Addiſon's addreſs at this time is a noble proof of his gratitude, as the manner of it will be a laſting monument of his good ſenſe. In four lines he has handled a topic, the niceſt that could be; and in four more makes a tranſition to his ſubject naturally, and without precipitation.

On his return, he publiſhed an account of his travels, which he dedicated to his patron the lord Somers.

In our author's Dedication of his Travels to the the right honourable John, lord Somers, he takes an opportunity of paying his lordſhip one of the fineſt and beſt turned compliments that ever entered a dedication; inaſmuch as, in a ſingle paragraph, the patron, the ſubject, and the client, are all connected with the greateſt propriety in point of thought, and the greateſt beauty in regard to ſtile.

"I had," ſays he, "a very early ambition to recommend myſelf to your lordſhip's patronage, which yet encreaſed in me, as I travelled through the countries, of which I here give your lordſhip ſome account: for whatever great impreſſions an Engliſhman muſt have of your lordſhip, they who have been converſant abroad will find them ſtill improved. It cannot but be obvious to them, that, though they ſee your lordſhip's admirers every where, they meet with very few of your well-wiſhers at Paris or at Rome: and I could not but obſerve, when I paſſed through moſt of the proteſtant countries in Europe, that their hopes, or fears, for the common cauſe, roſe or fell with your lordſhip's intereſt and authority in England."

In his Preface, Mr. Addiſon gave his reader plainly to underſtand what he was to meet with in the following pages. For having obſerved, that Burnet had, in his travels, maſterly and

and uncommon obſervations, on the religion and governments of Italy; that Laſſels might be uſed in giving the names of ſuch writers as had treated of the ſeveral ſtates through which he paſſed; that Mr. Ray had publiſhed ſeveral valuable remarks in reſpect to natural hiſtory; and that Mr. Miſſion particularly excelled in the plan of the country; he goes on thus:

"For my own part, as I have taken notice of ſeveral places and antiquities, that no body elſe has taken notice of, ſo I think I have mentioned but few things in common with others, that are not either ſet in a new light, or accompanied with different reflections. I have taken care, particularly, to conſider the ſeveral paſſages of the ancient poets, which have any relation to the places and curioſities that I met with; for, before I entered upon my voyage, I took care to refreſh my memory among the claſſic authors, and to make ſuch collections out of them, as I might afterwards have occaſion for.

"I muſt confeſs, it was not one of the leaſt entertainments that I met with in travelling, to examine theſe ſeveral deſcriptions as it were upon the ſpot, and to compare the natural face of the country with the landſkips the poets had given us of it."

Notwithſtanding this introduction, this piece was not at firſt underſtood, and conſequently

could not ſucceed; but, by degrees, as the curious entered deeper and deeper into the book, their judgment of it changed, and the demand for it became ſo great, that the price roſe at laſt to its original value, before there was a ſecond edition printed. It has ever ſince maintained its reputation, moſt of the virtuoſi who have travelled through Italy ſince having given it high commendations, and, which is perhaps a ſincere proof of their approbation, have choſe to tread in the ſame track. It hath been tranſlated into French, and makes uſually the fourth volume of Miſſion's travels in that language,

The two great points laboured in theſe travels, are, the recommending the claſſic writers, and promoting the doctrine of liberty.—Theſe points had been before purſued in the Epiſtle to lord Haliſax, and therefore Mr. Tickell has very juſtly and judiciouſly obſerved, That this poem may be conſidered as the text upon which the book of travels is a large comment.

He would have returned earlier than he did into England, had he not been thought of as a proper perſon to attend prince Eugene, who then commanded for the emperor in Italy; which employment he would have been well pleaſed with; but the death of king William intervening, cauſed a ceſſation of his penſion and his hopes.

He remained at home a very conſiderable ſpace of time (his friends being then out of the

the miniſtry) before any occaſion offered, either of his farther diſplaying his great abilities, or of his meeting with any ſuitable reward, for the honour his works had already done his country. He was indebted to an accident for both.

In the year 1704, the lord-treaſurer Godolphin happened to complain to the lord Halifax, that the duke of Marlborough's victory at Blenheim had not been celebrated in verſe in the manner it deſerved; intimating, that he would take it kindly, if his lordſhip, who was the known patron of the poets, would name a gentleman capable of writing upon ſo elevated a ſubject.

Lord Halifax replied with ſome quickneſs, that he was well acquainted with ſuch a perſon, but that he would not name him; adding, That he had long ſeen with indignation, men of no merit maintained in pomp and luxury, at the expence of the public, while perſons of too much modeſty, with great abilities, languiſhed in obſcurity. The treaſurer ſaid very coolly, That he was ſorry his lordſhip had occaſion to make ſuch an obſervation; and, that, for the future, he would take care to render it leſs juſt than it might be at preſent; but that, in the mean time, he would pawn his honour, who ever his lordſhip ſhould name, might venture upon this theme without fear of loſing his time. Lord Halifax thereupon named Mr. Addiſon, but inſiſted that the

treaſurer himſelf ſhould ſend to him, which he promiſed.

Accordingly, he prevailed upon Mr. Boyle, afterwards lord Carlton, chancellor of the Exchequer, to go, in his name, to Mr. Addiſon, and communicate to him the buſineſs; which he accordingly did, in ſo obliging a manner, that he readily entered upon the taſk.

The lord-treaſurer Godolphin ſaw the poem before it was finiſhed, when the author had written no farther then the famous ſimile of the angel; and was ſo well pleaſed with it, that he immediately made him a commiſſioner of appeals, in the room of Mr. Locke, who was promoted to be one of the lords commiſſioners for trade, &c.

His poem, intituled The Campaign, was received with loud and general applauſe; however, it may be doubted, what real benefit the duke of Marlborough reaped from it; ſince, if, on the one hand, it ſet his conduct in the faireſt light, it introduced, on the other, a rival in fame; for, in all probability, the poem will be admired as long as the victory is remembered.

The Campaign is addreſſed to the duke of Marlborough, and contains a ſhort view of the military tranſactions in the year 1704, with a very particular, as well as poetical deſcription of the two great actions at Schellemberg and Blenheim.

Several other eminent writers employed their pens on the ſame ſubject; particularly Mr. J. Phillips,

Phillips, and Mr. Euſden, who was afterwards poet-laureat. However, Mr. Addiſon was by far the moſt admired, and ſome of his warmeſt friends have ventured to prefer this poem to the reſt of his works. Perhaps this is a partiality to the ſubject, rather than to the piece itſelf, which, however fine, could not be the moſt excellent of Mr. Addiſon's performances, becauſe of its natural irregularity.

All things conſidered, without queſtion, the Campaign is truly excellent, but excellent only with regard to its ſubject; for, though the world allowed Mr. Addiſon to exceed others therein, yet no judges of poetry will admit that he excelled himſelf.

In 1705, our author attended the lord Halifax to Hanover; and, in the ſucceeding year, he was made choice of for under-ſecretary to Sir Charles Hedges, then appointed ſecretary of ſtate. In the month of December, in the ſame year, the earl of Sunderland ſucceeding Sir Charles in that office, continued Mr. Addiſon in the poſt of under-ſecretary.

Operas being, at this time much in vogue, many people of diſtinction and true taſte, importuned Mr. Addiſon to make a trial whether ſenſe and ſound were really ſo incompatible as ſome admirers of the Italian pieces would repreſent them. He was at laſt prevailed upon to comply with their requeſts, and compoſed his inimitable Roſamond.

This piece was inſcribed to the ducheſs of Marlborough; and, though it did not ſuc-

ceed on the ſtage, it has been, and everlaſtingly will be, applauded in the cloſet. The many, looked upon it as not properly an opera, and the few joined them in their opinion: for having conſidered what a number of miſerable things had borne that title, they were ſcarce ſatisfied that ſo excellent a piece ſhould appear by the ſame.

About the ſame time, our author aſſiſted the ingenious Sir Richard Steele in his play called The Tender Huſband, to which our author wrote a humourous Prologue. Sir Richard, whoſe gratitude was full as warm as his wit, ſurprized him with a Dedication, which may be conſidered as one of the few monuments of praiſe, not unworthy of him to whoſe honour it was erected.

In 1709, the marquis of Wharton being appointed lord-lieutenant of Ireland, carried over Mr. Addiſon into that kingdom in the quality of his ſecretary. Her majeſty alſo was pleaſed, as a mark of her peculiar favour, to augment the ſalary annexed to the place of keeper of the records in that kingdom, and to beſtow it upon him.

While he was in Ireland, his friend Mr. Steele publiſhed the Tatler; which appeared, for the firſt time, on the twelfth of April, 1709. Mr. Addiſon diſcovered the author by an obſervation on Virgil, which he had communicated to him. This diſcovery led him to farther aſſiſtances, inſomuch, that, as the author of the Tatlers well expreſſed it, he fared by

by this means like a diſtreſſed prince who calls in a powerful neighbour to his aid; that is, he was undone by his auxiliary. Such was the ſuperiority of Mr. Addiſon's genius, and ſo true a taſte the town then had of correct and fine writing.

It would be very improper to enter farther into the hiſtory of the Tatler, than as it concerns Mr. Addiſon.

Mr. Tickell obſerves, and Sir Richard Steele confeſſes, that the paper was ſet on foot and dropped without Mr. Addiſon's knowledge; of courſe the hiſtory of the Tatler belongs properly to another article.

The papers written by Mr. Addiſon were not diſtinguiſhed in this collection by any mark; but Sir Richard Steele, at the requeſt of Mr. Tickell, pointed them out to him; and not only ſo, but ſhewed him ſuch as they were jointly concerned in: and theſe, as well as thoſe, are printed in the ſecond volume of Mr. Addiſon's works.

It muſt be allowed, that many of theſe little eſſays are not only exquiſite, but incomparable. It is impoſſible to be ſerious while we read ſuch of them as are humourous; or not to be grave on the peruſal of ſuch as are of an oppoſite caſt. The images are ſo ſtriking, the language ſo graceful, the turn ſo natural, the raillery ſo lively, and at the ſame time ſo innocent, that, not to be charmed with thoſe pieces, and to be abſolutely without taſte, muſt be for ever ſynonymous terms.

Upon the change in the miniſtry, our author being more at leiſure, engaged oftener in that work, until its concluſion on the ſecond of January, 1711.

Immediately after the Tatler was laid down, Sir Richard Steele formed the project of the Spectator; the plan of which he concerted with Mr. Addiſon.

The firſt paper appeared on the firſt of March, 1711; and, in the courſe of that celebrated work, Mr. Addiſon furniſhed the greater part of thoſe papers which were moſt admired. It was finiſhed on the ſixth of September, 1712; and Mr. Addiſon, to prevent any diſputes, or miſtakes, which might otherwiſe have happened, took care to diſtinguiſh his papers, throughout the whole, by ſome letter in the name of the muſe CLIO.

The affinity between the Tatlers, Spectators, and Guardians, makes it unneceſſary to enter minutely into the merit of ſuch papers as Mr. Addiſon contributed, in the carrying on the two laſt undertakings. In the Spectators, the character of Sir Roger de Coverly was his particular favourite. We are told by a gentleman, who was thought to be well acquainted with Mr. Addiſon's affairs, that he was ſo tender of his character, as to go to Sir Richard Steele, on his publiſhing a Spectator, wherein he made Sir Roger pick up a woman in the Temple cloiſters; and would not part with his friend, until he had promiſed to meddle with the old knight's character no more.

However,

However, Mr. Addiſon, to make ſure, and to prevent any abſurdities, which the authors of ſubſequent Spectators might fall into, reſolved to remove that character out of the way; or, as he pleaſantly expreſſed it to an intimate friend, killed Sir Roger, that no body elſe might murder him.

As to the marking of the Spectators, it was our author's own act and deed: but Mr. Tickell, in his Preface to his works, having expreſſed this in very ſtrong terms, ſaying, That Mr. Addiſon had hereby removed the leaſt poſſibility of miſtake in the moſt undiſcerning reader; Sir Richard Steele, who was extremely offended with that Preface, remarked ſeverely on this paſſage, and ſpeaking thereof to Mr. Congreve, uſes theſe words:

"I have obſerved, that the editor will not let me, or any one elſe, obey Mr. Addiſon's commands, in hiding any thing he deſired ſhould be concealed. I cannot but take further notice, that the circumſtance of marking his Spectators, which I did not know until I had done with the work, I made my own act, becauſe I thought it too great a ſenſibility in my friend; and thought, ſince it was done, better to be ſuppoſed marked by me, than the author himſelf; the real ſtate of which, this zealot raſhly and injudiciouſly expoſes.

"I aſk the reader, whether any thing but an earneſtneſs to diſparage me, could provoke the

the editor, in behalf of Mr. Addiſon, to ſay, that he marked it out of caution againſt me, when I had taken it upon me to ſay, it was I that did it out of tenderneſs to him?"

It muſt be allowed, that Sir Richard, in the concluding paper of the Spectator, had ſaid all that could be expected, if not more, with reſpect not only to the diſtinction, but alſo in regard to Mr. Addiſon's character particularly; there did not therefore ſeem to be the leaſt occaſion for theſe precautions, with reſpect to a man who was really as warm a friend as could be wiſhed, and a much warmer than theſe cautious people ſeem to have any idea of.

When the old Spectator was laid down, a new one appeared; which, though written by men of wit and genius, did not ſucceed; and they had the good ſenſe not to puſh the attempt too far. Without queſtion, the original Spectator will always be eſteemed, not only as excellent in its nature and execution, but as truly honourable to the times in which it was received with ſo much applauſe. Poſterity muſt have a high idea of the manners and good ſenſe of the Britiſh nation, when they are informed that twenty thouſand of theſe papers were ſometimes ſold in a day.

The Guardian, a paper in the ſame taſte, and, which is ſaying much more, in the ſame ſpirit, entertained the town in the years 1713 and 1714; Mr. Addiſon had a large ſhare therein

therein, and his papers were particularly reliſhed: and he alſo wrote once or twice in the Lover.

It was neceſſary to ſpeak of theſe performances together, which has carried us ſomewhat out of our ordinary road. Let us return therefore to the year 1713, in which appeared his famous Cato.

He took up the deſign of writing a tragedy on that ſubject, when he was very young; he actually wrote it while he was on his travels; however, he retouched it while he was in England, without any formed deſign of bringing it on the ſtage; but ſome friends of his believing that it might be advantageous to the cauſe of liberty, he was prevailed on to make it fit for the ſtage; which he accordingly did, by adding the greateſt part of the laſt act.

When it appeared, it was gazed on as a wonder, all parties applauded it; it ran thirty-five nights without interruption; and, what was more in the author's reputation, the beſt judges declared in its favour, when they had read it, with the ſame paſſion the pit had done when it was firſt ſeen. Mr. Pope wrote the Prologue, which is ſublime. Dr. Garth the Epilogue, which is humourous. It was recommended by many excellent copies of verſes prefixed to it; among which, the ſincerity of Mr. Steele, and the genius of Mr. Euſden, deſerve to be diſtinguiſhed.

Foreign nations have done this work of our author's as much honour as our own; and indeed,

deed, it is one of thoſe few performances which cannot receive more honour that it deſerves.

We ſhall here preſent the reader with ſome circumſtances relating to its firſt appearance. They are contained in a letter from Alexander Pope eſq. to Sir William Trumbull; dated April 30, 1713.

"As to poetical affairs, I am content, at preſent, to be a bare looker on; and, from a practitioner, turn an admirer; which is, as the world goes, not very uſual. Cato was not ſo much the wonder of Rome, in his days, as he is of Britain in ours; and, though all the fooliſh induſtry poſſible has been uſed to make it a party play, yet, what the author once ſaid of another, may the moſt properly in the world be applied to him on this occaſion,

Envy itſelf is dumb, in wonder loſt,
And factions ſtrive who ſhall applaud him moſt.

"The numerous and violent claps of the whig-party, on the one ſide of the theatre, were ecchoed back by the Tories on the other; while the author ſweated behind the ſcenes with concern, to find their applauſe proceeding more from the hand than the head. This was the caſe too of the Prologue-writer, who was clapped into a ſtaunch Whig at almoſt every two lines.

"I be-

"I believe you have heard, that, after all the applauſes of the oppoſite faction, my lord Bolingbroke ſent for Booth, who played Cato, into the box, between one of the acts, and preſented him with fifty guineas; in acknowledgment, as he expreſſed it, for defending the cauſe of liberty ſo well againſt a perpetual dictator. The Whigs are unwilling to be diſtanced this way, and therefore deſign a preſent to the ſame Cato very ſpeedily. In the the mean time, they are getting ready as good a ſentence as the former on their ſide. So, betwixt them, it is probable, that Cato, as Dr. Garth expreſſed it, may have ſomething to live upon after he dies."

Immediately after the publication of this tragedy, there came abroad a pamphlet, intituled, Obſervations upon Cato. This was written by Dr. Sewell, a very ingenious gentleman, and a good poet.

The deſign of this piece was to ſhew, that the applauſe this tragedy had met with, was founded in merit. It is a very accurate and entertaining criticiſm, and contributed not a little to the ſecuring our poet the hearts of his readers, as well as of his audience. We are not, however, to ſuppoſe that our author had no enemies, or that there were not enough who either did not like that tragedy, or pretended not to like it.

Amongſt theſe, the formidable Mr. Dennis had the courage to attack it; firſt in a pamphlet,

let, and again in a ſubſequent work; wherein he employed no leſs than ſeven letters in pulling the tragedy to pieces, and ſaying whatever an ill-natured man, with a tolerable ſhare of wit, might be able to ſay againſt the beſt written piece in the world.

Another gentleman, who called himſelf a ſcholar of Oxford, conſidered the play in a quite different light; that is, he conſidered it as a political piece, and endeavoured to ſerve his party, by turning the cannon upon the enemy. The title of his pamphlet was, Mr. Addiſon turned Tory; and it is written with great ſpirit and vivacity. Dr. Fiddes alſo took ſome exceptions at the following lines,

In ſpite of all the virtues we can boaſt,
A woman that deliberates is loſt.

The doctor thinks theſe reflect on the fair ſex; but this ſeems a very forced conſtruction, the ſentiment is juſt and natural, and all ſtrokes of this ſort ought to be conſidered, not as cenſures, but as cautions. The beſt judges, however, declared on the ſide of Mr. Addiſon, and, as occaſion offered, vindicated the merit of this tragedy againſt all opponents.

Mr. Boyer tranſlated it into French, the ſame year it was publiſhed; but very indifferently. Abbe du Bos made an excellent verſion; of which, however, only the three firſt ſcenes were printed. Abbot Salvini tranſlated it into Italian. His tranſlation was acted at

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Leghorn with prodigious applauſe, and he afterwards publiſhed it at Florence. It is not known, whether Signior Valetta's tranſlation was ever printed; he was a young Neopolitan nobleman who did it purely for his amuſement. The jeſuits at St. Omer tranſlated it into Latin, and cauſed it to be acted by their pupils there with great magnificence. They likewiſe ſent Mr. Addiſon a copy of their tranſlation.

In France, a poet, named Des Champs, having ſeen this tragedy, wrote another with the ſame title, and dedicated it to the duke of Orleans. This was firſt exceſſively cried up in France, tranſlated into Engliſh blank-verſe, and publiſhed, with a parallel of that piece and the Cato of Addiſon, wherein the preference was given to the French performance. However, this was all the effect of pique, and the character of the French Cato could never be eſtabliſhed.

Mr. Voltaire has commended and condemned Mr. Addiſon by turns; and, in reſpect to the Cato, he admires and cenſures it extravagantly. The principal character he allows ſuperior to any before brought upon the ſtage; but for all the love ſcenes he will have them abſolutely inſipid; which may be allowed him, when he ſhall prove another of his aſſertions; viz. That Cato was the firſt regular tragedy that ever appeared on the Engliſh ſtage,

It was alſo tranſlated more than once into French, obtained two Italian verſions, and has been either tranſlated or imitated in the German language. But the greateſt honour that ever was done thereto, was the putting the ſoliloquy of Cato, which is perhaps the nobleſt thing in our language, into a latin dreſs, which might have been read with admiration, even by the criticks in the court of Auguſtus. Fame has attributed this to the late biſhop Atterbury, and as it were ſuperlatively fine, the world thought fame in the right, and ſo it proved.

This excellent tragedy did not eſcape the minor criticks, as the reader will find hereafter. Her majeſty queen Anne, was not the laſt in doing juſtice to our author, and his performance. She was pleaſed to ſignify an inclination of having it dedicated to her; but the author publiſhed it without a dedication, becauſe, as it is ſaid, he had propoſed to dedicate it elſewhere, and by this method, he thought to avoid offending either his duty or his honour. If in the ſubſequent part of his life his leiſure had been greater, we are told he would have written another tragedy, intituled, The Death of Socrates. But the honours due to what he had already performed, deprived poſterity of this promiſed labour.

Upon the death of the queen, the lords juſtices appointed Mr. Addiſon their ſecretary, which took him off from a deſign he had formed,

formed, of compoſing an Engliſh dictionary, on the plan of a famous Italian one. There was ſome thoughts of making him ſecretary of ſtate at that time, but he was at pains to decline it, and accepted a ſecond time, under the earl of Sunderland, the poſt of ſecretary to the lord-lieutenant of Ireland; he held it however but a very little time; for on the earl's being removed, he was made one of the lord's of Trade.

In 1716, he married the counteſs of Warwick; and on the firſt breaking out of the rebellion, he publiſhed the Freeholder, which is a kind of political Spectator.

The Freeholder is particularly mentioned, becauſe it was a work written by Mr. Addiſon, entirely, and upon his own plan. Some indeed have ſuppoſed, that he was aſſiſted in this work by Mr. Phillips. But there ſeems to be no foundation for this report, ſince neither Mr. Tickell ſays any thing of it, nor does it appear from the papers themſelves, that they were written by different hands; for they are the moſt uniform, and, the greateſt part of them, the moſt out of every man's way of writing but Mr. Addiſon's, that can be imagined.

There is one thing to be ſaid in reſpect to the Freeholder, which as it will be certainly ſaid by poſterity, I can ſee no reaſon why it ſhould not be ſaid here; The Freeholder is, without queſtion, the moſt indubitable proof

of

of the uſe of a man of true wit, and reaſonable application, may be of to any adminiſtration. The numerous pieces of Sir Roger L'Eſtrange, were all calculated to make the people laugh, or to put them in a paſſion. Dr. Welwood's periodical papers were all politics, and, conſequently, too dry for the generality of readers.

During the reign of the queen, polemic writings were not only ſharp, but bitter, and their authors ſtudied rather to make their adverſaries feel the quickneſs of their reproaches, then to perſuade them by ſound arguments, much leſs to invite them, by moderate and gentle applications, to their different humours and ways of thinking. The Freeholder hath avoided all theſe faults, and, with an inexhauſtible fund of humour, mingles ſometimes the graveſt reaſonings, and at others the kindeſt expoſtulations. Beautiful deſcriptions, exquiſite allegories, viſions almoſt more than human; and, in fine, whatever might pleaſe, whatever could move, whatever ſeemed fitteſt to attract, is to be found in thoſe inimitable eſſays; and one may ſpeak it without fear of being contradicted by any man who reads them, that they are the beſt turned papers, with a view for the purpoſe for which they were written, that were ever penned.

Mr. Addiſon without queſtion wrote them in conſequence of his principles, out of a deſire of removing prejudices, and from a ſtrong in-

inclination to ſettle the government, and make his country. The making him ſecretary of ſtate therefore, was but doing him juſtice for ſo extraordinary and well-timed a ſervice, which more than balanced that deficiency, which he objected againſt his own preferment, his being no ſpeaker in the Houſe of Commons.

There were juſt fifty-five papers in all; the firſt was publiſhed on the twenty-third of September, 1715, and the laſt on the twenty-ninth of June, 1716. Theſe pieces were exceedingly admired, and, which was more the author's aim, were of great uſe at the time they were written. He publiſhed alſo at this time, ſome little pieces of poetry, ſuch as verſes to Sir Godfrey Kneller on the king's picture, and another copy to the princeſs of Wales, with the tragedy of Cato. In April 1717, his majeſty king George I, was pleaſed to appoint our author one of his principal ſecretaries of ſtate. His health, which had been before impaired by an aſthmatic diſorder, ſuffered exceedingly by an advancement ſo much to his honour, but attended notwithſtanding with very great fatigue. He bore it however with great patience, till finding, or rather ſuſpecting, that it might be prejudicial to the public buſineſs, he reſigned his office. Having thus procured for himſelf a vacancy from buſineſs, he grew better, and his friends were in hopes, that his health would have been thoroughly re-eſtabliſhed.

In the leiſure moments he applied himſelf ſteadily to a religious work, which he had begun long before, the firſt part whereof, ſcarce finiſhed, is preſerved and printed in his works. He likewiſe intended to have paraphraſed ſome of the pſalms of David; but a long and painful relapſe broke all his deſigns, and deprived the world of this excellent perſon, on the ſeventeenth of June, 1719, when he was entering the forty fourth year of his age. He died at Holland-houſe near Kenſington, and left behind him an only daughter, by the counteſs of Warwick. After his deceaſe, Mr. Tickell, who had the author's commands and inſtructions, collected and publiſhed his works in four volumes in quarto. In thi edition there are ſeveral pieces hitherto unmentioned, of which it is neceſſary we ſhould ſpeak The firſt in order of time is the Diſſertation upon Medals, which, though publiſhed after his death, yet the materials for it were collected in Italy, and he actually began to digeſt them into order, when at Vienna, in the year 1702. Theſe dialogues are every way worthy of Mr. Addiſon; the deſign is juſt and uſeful, the manner correct, beautiful, and in the true taſte of antiquity. All the elegance of Plato, all the good ſenſe and maſculine gravity of Tully, with a becoming air of humour, in which our author was truly an original, are diſcoverable in this little work. The editor took a great deal of pains

pains in tranſlating the Latin quotations, and the verſes prefixed to it by Mr. Pope, are as perfect in poetry, as the piece itſelf is in proſe.

In November, 1707, there came abroad a pamphlet under the title of, The Preſent ſtate of the War, and the neceſſity of an augmentation conſidered. It is now printed among Mr. Addiſon's works, and I believe nobody who reads it will doubt that it is his. The ſpirit in which it is writ, the weighty obſervations contained therein, on the ſtrength and intereſt of foreign nations, and the comprehenſive knowledge, ſhewn of all things relating to our own, evince it the work of no ordinary hand.

The Whig Examiner, came out on the fourteenth of September, 1710, for the firſt time. There were five papers in all attributed to Mr. Addiſon, Theſe are by much the ſevereſt things he ever wrote. Dr. Sacheverell, Mr. Prior, and many other perſons are in them very harſhly treated. The Examiner had done the ſame thing on the part of the Tories, and the avowed deſign of their paper was to make repriſals.

In 1713, there was publiſhed a little pamphlet, entitled, The late trial and conviction of Count Tariff. It was intended to expoſe the Tory miniſtry, on the head of the French commerce bill; and is likewiſe a very ſevere piece. Theſe are all that are included in Mr.

Tickell's edition, which were publiſhed in the life-time of Mr. Addiſon, without his name; as alſo was the Drummer, or the Haunted Houſe, a comedy, not taken notice of in this edition, but publiſhed afterwards as Mr. Addiſon's by Sir Richard Steele.

The Drummer was firſt publiſhed without any author's name, but with a preface prefixed by Sir Richard Steele, wherein he tells us, that it had been ſome years in the hands of the author, and falling under his peruſal, he thought ſo well of it, that he perſuaded him to make ſome additions and alterations and let it appear on the ſtage. He owns that it was not well received, or at leaſt, not ſo well received as it deſerved, which he accounts for, by obſerving that the ſtrokes therein are too delicate, for every taſte in a popular aſſembly; and he adds, that his brother ſharers were of opinion, that it was like a picture, in which the ſtrokes were not ſtrong enough to appear at a diſtance.

Mr. Tickell publiſhing Mr. Addiſon's works in 1721, omitted this comedy, which Sir Richard Steele ſo much reſented, that he quickly after publiſhed a ſecond edition of it, with an epiſtle to Mr. Congreve thereto prefixed; in this epiſtle he aſſerts, that he recommended the play to the ſtage, and carried it to the preſs; he likewiſe tells us the price it was ſold at, viz. fifty guineas. He refers himſelf to his former preface, for a proof of his

his zeal on that occaſion, which he obſerves could flow from nothing elſe, than his affection for the author. For as to the ſhare any one elſe had in it, he is very poſitive it very little exceeded that of an amanuenſis.

" But indeed, continues he, had I not known it, at the time of the tranſaction concerning the acting on the ſtage and ſale of the copy, I ſhould, I think, have ſeen Mr. Addiſon in every page of it; for he was above all men in that talent called humour, and enjoyed it in ſuch perfection, that I have often reflected, after a night ſpent with him apart from the world, that I had the pleaſure of converſing with an intimate acquaintance of Terence and Catullus, who had all their wit and nature, heightened with humour more exquiſite and delightful, than any other man ever poſſeſſed. They who ſhall read this play, after being let into the ſecret that it was written by Mr. Addiſon, or under his direction, will probably be attentive to thoſe excellencies, which they before overlooked, and wonder they did not till now obſerve, that there is not an expreſſion in the whole piece, which has not in it the moſt nice propriety and aptitude to the character which utters it; there is that ſmiling mirth, that delicate ſatire, and genteel raillery, which appeared to Mr. Addiſon when he was free among intimates; I ſay when he was from his remark-

able baſhfulneſs, which is a cloak that hides and muffles merit, and his abilities were covered only by modeſty, which doubles the beauties which are ſeen, and gives credit and eſteem to all that are concealed. The Drummer made no great figure on the ſtage, though exquiſitely well acted; but when I obſerve this, I ſay a much harder thing of the ſtage than of the comedy. When I ſay the ſtage in this place, I am underſtood to mean in general, the preſent ſtate of theatrical repreſentations; where nothing that is not violent, and, as I may ſay, groſsly delightful, can come on without hazard of being condemned or ſlighted."

Nothing can be more juſt than Sir Richard's ſentiments on this matter. The Drummer may be perhaps eſtabliſhed as a teſt of true taſte, he who likes it, has it, he who diſapproves this piece, has it not. Experience juſtified Sir Richard's conjecture. This play which failed when inimitably acted at Drury Lane, was, when much worſe performed, loudly applauded at Mr. Rich's houſe, merely becauſe it was then known to be Mr. Addiſon's.

How honourable this for our author! how diſhonourable to the audience! how happy was he to have his former writings read by better judges! The time in which he lived was worthy of Mr. Addiſon, but if his writ-

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ings ſhould ever reach an age, ſo ſtupid or ſo barbarous as not to reliſh them, that will not alter their nature, they will ſtill remain as excellent as before, though not to the eyes of thoſe Goths and Vandals. But we deviate too far from our purpoſe, and yet to what purpoſe do we write, if it be not to defend the world from a decay of a taſte, and to preſerve from the inclemency of ſavage times, thoſe wreaths which men of merit have deſerved.

Since his death, and the coming out of that edition, the following pieces have been aſcribed to our author. Diſſertio de inſignoribus Romanorum poetis, i. e. A Diſſertation upon the moſt eminent Roman poets. This is ſuppoſed to have been written about 1692, is allowed to contain many uſeful obſervations, yet nobody has hitherto ventured to decide, whether it is, or is not, Mr. Addiſon's. A Diſcourſe on ancient and modern learning; the time when it was written uncertain, but probably as eaſy as the former. It was preſerved amongſt the manuſcripts of the Lord Somers, which, after the death of Sir Joſeph Jekyl, being publickly ſold, this little piece came to be printed, in 1739, and was as well received as it deſerved. To theſe we muſt add, The Old Whig, No. 1. and 2. pamphlets written in defence of the peerage bill, 1719.

In the latter end of 1718, and in the beginning of 1719, the peerage bill began firſt to be talked of, and the ſcope of the bill was

this. That inſtead of the ſixteen peers ſitting in parliament as repreſentatives of Scotland, there are for the future to be nine hereditary peers by the junction of nine out of the body of the Scotch nobility, to the then ſixteen ſitting peers. That ſix Engliſh peers ſhould be added, and the peerage then to remain fixed; the crown being reſtrained from making any new lords, but upon the extinction of families. What was the real view of this extraordinary ſcheme, is what we have no buſineſs here to inquire into. It is ſufficient for our purpoſe to obſerve, that it gave a great alarm to the nation, and many papers with great ſpirit were written againſt it; amongſt the reſt, one called the Plebeian, ſaid to fall from the pen of a member of the Houſe of Commons; and now known to have been written by Sir Richard Steele. To this ſeveral anſwers were publiſhed, and abundance of pieces written in ſupport of this project, none of which, however, were favourably received.

At length came forth the Old Whig, No. 1. on the ſtate of the peerage, with remarks on the plebeian. A quarto pamplet, written with great perſpicuity, in a nervous ſtile, not without ſome ſevere reflections on the plebeian. The author of that paper did not ſuffer it to remain long unanſwered.

In his ſecond number he replied to all the arguments therein made uſe of, treating the author with a good deal of aſperity, alledging

among other things, that the pamphlet had a very proper title, the author, if he was a Whig, ſeeming ſo old as to have forgot his principles. There does not appear however, any thing in the firſt old Whig, which betrays the author's knowledge of the Plebeian coming from Sir Richard Steele; neither is there any thing in the ſecond Plebian, which intimates the writer's having the leaſt ſuſpicion, that the Old Whig was Mr. Addiſon's.

Though there was in the laſt mentioned papet, an intimation of the author's ſuperior dignity, and more thorough acquaintance with the ſecret of this affair. For the Old Whig firſt declared that his majeſty had given his conſent, which he ſtiles an act of unparallelled goodneſs; of which fact the Plebian doubted, or at leaſt affected to doubt. The ſecond Old Whig was written in ſupport of the firſt, and in anſwer to the ſecond Plebian. It is a very judicious, and at the ſame time a very warm and very humourous pamphlet; from the very beginning of which it is apparent, that the author knew, or at leaſt was reſolved to conſider Sir Richard as the writer of the Plebeian. He ſtiles him the perfect maſter in the vocation of pamphlet writing in one place, calls him Little Dicky in another, tells him, he has made the moſt of a bad cauſe in a third, and adviſes him as a friend in the cloſe, if he goes on in the new vocation, to take care that he be as happy in the choice of

his ſubject, as he is in the talents of a pamphleteer.

The fourth Plebian contains an anſwer to the ſecond Old Whig. It is written with much greater virulence than any of the reſt of the papers; his concluſion is very remarkable. Authors, ſays he, in theſe caſes are named upon ſuſpicion, and if it is right as to the Old Whig, I leave the world to judge of this cauſe by compariſon of this performance with his other writings; and I ſhall ſay no more of what is writ in ſupport of vaſſalage, but end this paper by firing every free breaſt with that noble exhortation of the tragedian,

Remember, O! my friends, &c.
Mr Addisons Cato.

This is ſufficient to ſhew Sir Richard's belief, nor hath any body queſtioned the truth of his conjecture. The peerage bill went off notwithſtanding for that ſeſſions, and Mr. Addiſon died before it came on again, in the latter end of the ſame year.

It may not however, be amiſs to obſerve, that December 7, 1719, on a motion in the Houſe of Commons, for committing the peerage bill, it was carried in the negative, by 269, againſt 177.

It is not eaſy to account for the not inſerting of theſe papers amongſt his works, unleſs we ſuppoſe that the publication of them following imme-

immediately the diſappointment of that deſign, made it improper to diſcover how much our author had it at heart. Thus we have run thro' the hiſtory of this great man's life and writings, who as he was ſuperior to moſt of his cotemporaries in other things, ſo he particularly excelled them in this; that his performances; nothing puerile in the moſt early, nothing below his genius in the laſt; conſtant to his principles, and to his friendſhips; he died as he lived, eſteemed and revered by the great, without raiſing any enemies, except ſuch as were on account of party; and even theſe expreſſed their enmity with reluctance, ſuch was their admiration of his virtues.

We have endeavoured to do ſome juſtice to our author's character, and eſpecially to that diſtinguiſhing part thereof, the eaſe and readineſs with which he wrote, notwithſtanding the accuracy and correctneſs of all his writings. This, it may be, will be thought beſt ſupported by proof, which we ſhall give. The following epigram (which is not inſerted in his works) was written when he was a member of the Kit-Cat Club, extempore, and yet it has not only wit, but correctneſs to recommend it.

On the Lady MANCHESTER.

When haughty Gallia's dames that ſpread
O'er their pale cheeks an artful red:

Beheld

Beheld this beauteous ſtranger there,
In nat[illegible]e charms, divinely fair;
Conſuſion in their looks they ſhew'd,
And with unborrowed bluſhes glow'd.

A farther proof of the extraordinary facility, with which he produced even the moſt perfect of his performances, may be taken from what Sir Richard Steele ſays of his Cato; he tells us, that the laſt act was written in leſs than a week's time.

"For this, continues he, was particular in this writer, that when he had taken his reſolution, or made his plan for what he deſigned to write, he would walk about a room and dictate it into language, with as much freedom and eaſe as any one could write it down; and attend to the coherence and grammar of what he dictated."

To attempt the reckoning up the friends of Mr. Addiſon, would be an endleſs labour; and yet, to ſay nothing of thoſe who diſtinguiſhed Mr. Addiſon, at the ſame time that they were themſelves perſons of the firſt diſtinction, would be an unpardonable omiſſion. We have already taken notice of lord Somers, whoſe friendſhip to our author continued without interruption as long as he lived. We have likewiſe mentioned Mr. Addiſon's gratitude towards him in the dedication of his travels,

vels, after that nobleman had been impeached in the reign of king William; and was actually when he dedicated it to him, in disgrace with queen Anne.

We are yet to remark, that Mr. Addiſon out-lived him, ſo in one of his Freeholders he paid ſuch a tribute to his memory, as muſt endear his own to every man of honour. The celebrated earl of Halifax maintained alſo an inviolable friendſhip throughout his whole life for our author; to whoſe reputation we can add nothing, except it be naming the illuſtrious foreigners who ſubſcribed for his works, which not only does honour to him but to our nation. They were the queen of Sweden, his royal highneſs the duke of Orleans regent of France, the great duke of Tuſcany, the great prince of Tuſcany, the duke of Modena, the prince of Parma, the doge of Genoa, the duke of Guaſtalla, prince Eugene, cardinal del Giudice, cardinal du Bois, and marſhal d'Eſtrees. To mention the great names of our own nation, would be to tranſcribe the liſts of our nobility, and therefore we ſhall reſt this point here, preſuming that in few other lives it will be carried further.

The author of a celebrated poem, intituled Faction Diſplayed, who was juſtly celebrated for giving an ingenious turn to his ill nature; began an early war upon our author. In that poem, he makes his patron Montague, there characteriſed by the name of Bathillo, deſcribe him thus;

On Addiſon we ſafely may depend,
A penſion never fails to gain a friend;
Thro' Alpine Hills, he ſhall my name reſound,
And make his patron known in claſſic ground.

Mrs Manley, in her ſequel to the Atalantis, gives our author's character at large, under the name of Maro, what ſhe ſays of him, is every way to his advantage, were it not for this ill-natured apoſtrophe, on ſeeing him in Sergius's gallery.

"O pity, that politics and ſordid intereſt, ſhould have carried him out of the road of Helicon, ſnatched him from the embraces of the muſes, to throw into an old withered ſtateſman's arms, &c."

This withered ſtateſman, whom he had before called Sergius, is the ſame lord Halifax, mentioned by the foregoing writer. But the ſevereſt attack that ever Mr. Addiſon felt, was from the following verſes, bright and piercing as lightning, and as fatally blaſting.

Peace to all ſuch! but were there one whoſe fires,
True genius kindles, and fair fame inſpires;
Bleſt with each talent, and each art to pleaſe,
And born to write, converſe, and live with eaſe;

Shou'd

Shou'd ſuch a man too fond to rule alone,
Bear, like the Turk, no brother near the throne,
View him with ſcornful, yet with jealous eyes,
And hate for arts, that cauſed himſelf to riſe;
Damn with faint praiſe, aſſent with civil leer,
And without ſneering teach the reſt to ſneer:
Willing to wound, and yet afraid to ſtrike,
Juſt hint a fault, and heſitate diſlike;
Alike reſerv'd to blame, or to commend,
A tim'rous foe, and a ſuſpicious friend;
Dreading e'en fools by flatters beſieged,
And ſo obliging, that he ne'er obliged:
Like Cato, gives his little ſenate laws,
And ſits attentive to his own applauſe:
While wits and templars ev'ry ſentence raiſe,
And wonder with a fooliſh face of praiſe.
Who but muſt laugh, if ſuch a man there be?
Who would not weep, if Atticus were he.

An author in Miſt's journal, gives the following account of this tranſaction.

"Mr. Addſon raiſed this author, i. e. Pope, from obſcurity, obtained him the acquaintance and friendſhip of the whole body of our nobility, and transferred his powerful intereſt with thoſe great men to this riſing bard, who

who frequently levied by that means unuſual contributions on the public. ——— No ſooner was his body lifeleſs, but this author, reviving his reſentment, libelled the memory of his departed friend; and, what was ſtill more heinous, made the ſcandal public."

In anſwer to this, it is ſaid, that the whole is falſe, that Mr. Addiſon never introduced Mr. Pope to any noblemen, or procured him the ſubſcription of one gentleman; as to the libel, perſons of integrity are appealed to, who ſaw and approved the foregoing verſes, in no wiſe a libel, but a friendly rebuke, ſent in the author's own hand to Mr. Addiſon himſelf, and never made public by him, until printed by Curll and others. There is indeed, a letter of the biſhop of Rocheſter's extant, wherein theſe verſes are highly commended, but this is ſeven years after Mr. Addiſon's death; and there is another letter of Mr. Pope's to Mr. Craggs, written near four years before Mr. Addiſon's death, wherein moſt of the ſame thoughts appear in proſe.

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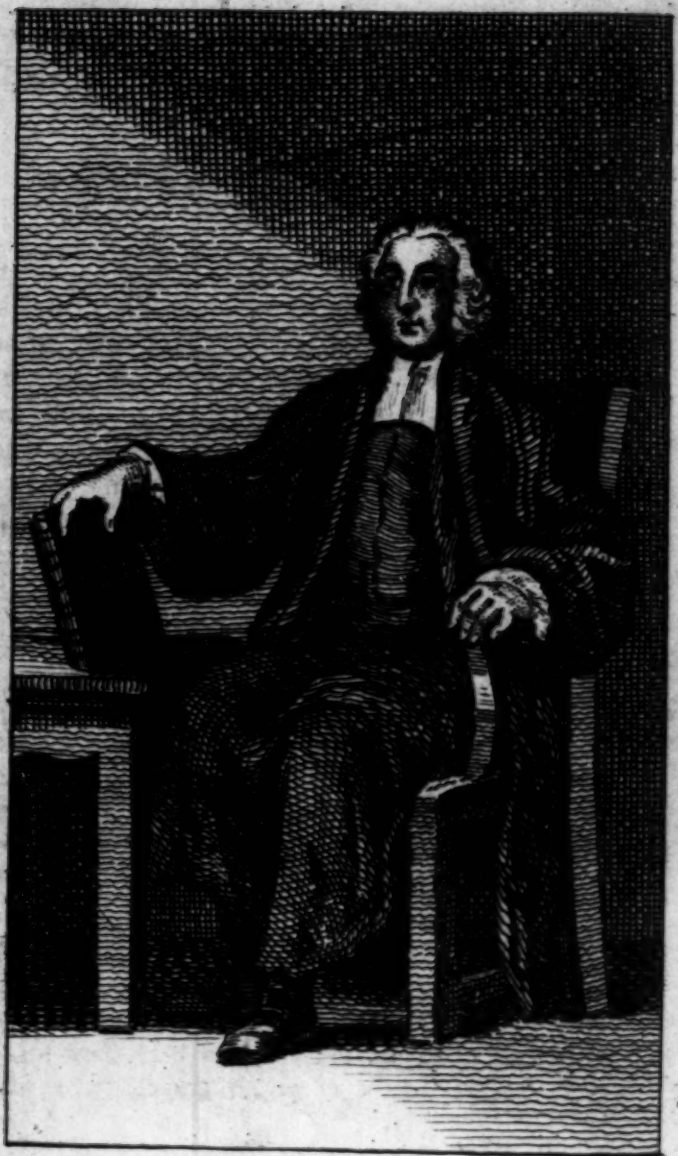

Aveline sculp

Doctor Clarke.

THE LIFE OF

SAMUEL CLARKE.

DR. SAMUEL CLARKE, a very learned and eminent divine of the laſt and preſent centuries, was born in the city of Norwich, on the eleventh of October, 1675; and educated in the free-ſchool of that place, under the care of the reverend Mr. Burton.

His father was Edward Clarke, eſq. alderman of that city, and one of its repreſentatives in parliament for ſeveral years: a gentleman of an excellent natural capacity, and untainted reputation for probity and virtue. His mother was Hannah, the daughter of Samuel Parmenter, merchant, of the ſame city. Mr. Whiſton informs us, that Mr. Clarke was ſo acceptable to the citizens of Norwich, that they choſe him, without any ſollicitation, nay, againſt his own inclination, to repreſent them in parliament.

In 1691, he was removed to Caius-college, in Cambridge, under the tuition of Mr. Ellis, afterwards Sir John Ellis. Here his great genius and abilities ſoon diſcovered themſelves; and, before he was much above twenty-one years

years of age, he greatly contributed, both by his own example, and his excellent tranſlation of, and notes upon, Rohaut's Phyſics, to the eſtabliſhment of the Newtonian philoſophy.

There have been four editions of it: the firſt, in 1697, in 8vo; the laſt, in 1718, in 8vo, under this title, Jacobi Rohaulti Phyſica; Latine vertit, recenſuit, & uberioribus jam Annotationibus, ex illuſtriſſimi Iſaaci Newtoni Philoſophia maximam partem hauſtis, amplificavit & ornavit S. Clarke, S.T.P. Accedunt etiam in hac quarta editione novæ aliquot Tabulæ æri inciſæ, & Annotationes multum ſunt auctæ.

Dr. John Clarke, dean of Sarum, and our author's brother, tranſlated this work into Engliſh, and publiſhed it, in two volumes, 8vo, under the title of Rohault's Syſtem of Natural Philoſophy; which is illuſtrated with Dr. Samuel Clarke's Notes, taken moſtly out of Sir Iſaac Newton's Philoſophy; with Additions. Done into Engliſh by John Clarke, D. D. — The motives that induced Dr. Samuel Clarke to tranſlate and comment upon Mr. Rohault, may be ſeen in the following remark.

When our author came firſt to the univerſity, the ſyſtem of Des Cartes was the eſtabliſhed philoſophy there; though, as biſhop Hoadly juſtly obſerves, it was no more than the invention of an ingenious and luxuriant fancy; having no foundation in the reality of things,

nor

nor any correſpondency to the certainty of facts.

Mr. Ellis himſelf, Mr. Clarke's tutor, tho' a very learned man, was a zealot for this philoſophy, and, no doubt, gave his pupils the moſt favourable impreſſions of what he had ſo cloſely embraced himſelf.

The great Sir Iſaac Newton had indeed then publiſhed his Principia: but this book was for the few; both the matter and manner of it placing it, out of the reach of the generality even of learned readers; and ſtrong prejudice, in favour of what had been received, working againſt it. But neither the difficulty of the taſk, nor the reſpect he paid to the director of his ſtudies, nor the warmth and prejudice of all around him, had any influence upon his mind.

Diſſatisfied therefore with arbitrary hypotheſes, he applied himſelf to the ſtudy of what was real and ſubſtantial; and in this ſtudy he made ſuch uncommon advances, that he was preſently maſter of the chief parts of the Newtonian philoſophy; and, in order to his firſt degree, performed a public exerciſe in the ſchools upon a queſtion taken from thence; which ſurprized the whole audience, both for the accuracy of knowledge, and clearneſs of expreſſion, that appeared through the whole.

The ſyſtem of natural philoſophy then generally taught in the univerſity, was that written by Mr. Rohault, entirely founded upon the Carte-

Carteſian principles, and very ill tranſlated into Latin.

Mr. Clarke juſtly thought, that philoſophical notions might be expreſſed in pure Latin; and therefore reſolved to give a new tranſlation of that author; and to add to it ſuch notes as might lead ſtudents inſenſibly, and by degrees, to other and truer notions than could be found there. And this certainly, the biſhop obſerves, was a more prudent method of introducing truth unknown before, than to attempt to throw aſide this treatiſe entirely, and write a new one inſtead of it.

The ſucceſs anſwered exceedingly well to his hopes; for, by this means, the true philoſophy has, without any noiſe, prevailed; and to this day his tranſlation of Rohault is, generally ſpeaking, the ſtanding-text for lectures; and his notes, the firſt direction to thoſe who are willing to receive the reality and truth of things, in the place of invention and romance.

Mr. Whiſton relates, that, in the year 1697, while he was chaplain to Dr. Moore, then biſhop of Norwich, he met young Mr. Clarke, at that time wholly unknown to him, at one of the coffee-houſes in the market-place of Norwich; where they entered into a converſation about the Carteſian philoſophy, particularly Rohault's Phyſics; which Mr. Clarke's tutor, Mr. Whiſton ſays, had put him to tranſlate.

Mr.

Mr. Whiſton being aſked his opinion concerning the fitneſs of ſuch a tranſlation, anſwered,

"Since the youth of the univerſity muſt have, at preſent, ſome ſyſtem of natural philoſophy for their ſtudies and exerciſes; and ſince the true ſyſtem of Sir Iſaac Newton is not yet made eaſy enough for that purpoſe; it is not improper, for their ſakes, to tranſlate and uſe the ſyſtem of Rohault, who was eſteemed the beſt expoſitor of Des Cartes; but, as ſoon as Sir Iſaac Newton's philoſophy comes to be better known, that only ought to be taught, and the other dropped."

The laſt part of his advice, Mr. Whiſton tells us, has not been followed; Dr. Clarke's Rohault being ſtill the principal book for young ſtudents in the univerſity. "Though ſuch an obſervation (he adds) is no way to the honour of the tutors, who, in reading Rohault, do only read a philoſophical romance to their pupils, almoſt perpetually contradicted by the better notes thereto belonging."

However, upon this occaſion, Mr. Whiſton and Mr. Clarke fell into a diſcourſe about the wonderful diſcoveries made in Sir Iſaac Newton's philoſophy; and the reſult was, that Mr. Whiſton was greatly ſurprized, that ſo young a man, as Mr. Clarke then was, ſhould know

ſo

ſo much of thoſe ſublime diſcoveries which were then almoſt a ſecret to all, but to a few particular mathematicians.

Afterwards, he turned his thoughts to divinity; and, having taken holy-orders, became chaplain to Dr. John Moore, biſhop of Norwich.

His firſt ſtudies, in order to fit himſelf for the ſacred function, were, the Old Teſtement in the original Hebrew, the New in the original Greek, and the primitive Chriſtian writers. The firſt of theſe he then read with that exactneſs of judgment, which very few have ſhewn after a much longer application; and which furniſhed him with many obſervations, written at that time with his own hand in the margin, relating to the miſtakes of the common tranſlation of it.

The biſhop of Norwich being a great patron of learning and learned men, received Mr. Clarke into his familiarity and friendſhip, to ſuch a remarkable degree, that he lived for near twelve years in that ſtation, with all the decent freedoms of a brother and an equal, rather than an inferior. The biſhop's value for him increaſed every day, and there was no mark of eſteem he did not ſhew him while he lived; and, at his death, he gave him the higheſt proof of confidence, in leaving all the concerns of his family ſolely in his hands; a truſt which Mr. Clarke executed with the moſt faithful exactneſs, and to the entire ſatisfaction of every perſon concerned.

Mr.

Mr. Whiſton lays claim to the merit of introducing Mr. Clarke to the acquaintance and friendſhip of the biſhop of Norwich. After the converſation mentioned above, which Mr. Whiſton gave the biſhop an account of, upon his return to the palace, alderman Clarke and his ſon were, by order of the biſhop, invited, and handſomely entertained, by Mr. Whiſton at the palace.

The next year, 1698, Mr. Whiſton, being collated by the biſhop to the living of Loweſtoft, in Suffolk, reſigned his chaplainſhip, in which he was ſucceeded by Mr. Clarke.

In 1699, he publiſhed Three Practical Eſſays upon Baptiſm, Confirmation, and Repentance; and an anonymous piece, intituled, Reflexions on Part of a Book called Amyntor.

The whole title of his Practical Eſſays is, Three Practical Eſſays on Baptiſm, Confirmation, and Repentance: containing full Inſtructions for a Holy Life; with earneſt Exhortations, eſpecially to young Perſons, drawn from the Conſideration of the Severity of the Diſcipline of the Primitive Church.

The author, in his Preface, having obſerved the miſtakes men have run into with reſpect to the great buſineſs of repentance and converſion, tells us, his deſign in theſe Eſſays, is, "to endeavour briefly to ſet this great and important matter in its true light, from the analogy of ſcripture, and from the ſenſe of the pureſt

pureſt ages of the primitive church: to ſhew, that, at Baptiſm, God always beſtows that grace which is neceſſary to enable men to perform their duty; and that to thoſe who are baptiſed in their infancy, this grace is ſealed and aſſured at confirmation; that, from hence forward, men are bound, with that aſſiſtance, to live in the conſtant practice of their known duty; and are not to expect, except in extraordinary caſes, any extraordinary, much leſs irreſiſtible, grace, to preſerve them in their duty, or to convert them from ſin: that, if after this they fall into any great wickedneſs, they are bound by this to a proportionably great and particular repentance: and that, as the Goſpel hath given ſufficient aſſurance of ſuch repentance being accepted, to comfort and encourage all true penitents; ſo it has ſufficiently ſhewn the difficulty of it at all times, and the extreme danger of it when late, to deter men from delaying it when they are convinced of its neceſſity, and from adding to their ſins when they hope to have them forgiven."

Biſhop Hoadly mentions theſe Eſſays, and the Reflections on Amyntor, not to put them upon a level with the author's other performances, but only as having upon them the plain marks of a Chriſtian frame of mind, and as proofs of his knowledge in the writings of thoſe early ages, even at his firſt ſetting out into the world.

Mr.

Mr. Whiſton eſteems theſe Eſſays the moſt ſerious treatiſe Mr Clarke ever wrote; and which, with a little correction, will ſtill be very uſeful in all Chriſtian families. Upon this occaſion, Mr. Whiſton tells us, he remembers, he once told Dr. Clarke, after he had been once at St. James's, and about the court, That he doubted he was not now ſo ſerious, and good a Chriſtian, as he had been in the days of Hermas.

This, he ſays, Dr. Clarke readily underſtood to mean the time of his writing theſe three practical Eſſays; in which he had very often quoted that excellent, but deſpiſed, book of Primitive Chriſtianity, The Shepherd of Hermas.—There have been five editions of theſe Eſſays.

The whole title of his Reflexions on Amyntor, is, Some Reflections on that Part of a Book called Amyntor; or, A Defence of Milton's Life; which relates to the Writings of the Primitive Fathers, and the Canon of the New Teſtament: in a Letter to a Friend.

The author of Amyntor, it is well known, was the famous Mr. Toland: and the propoſitions maintained therein, which Dr. Clarke thought moſt to deſerve conſideration, are theſe three:

Firſt, That the books aſcribed to the diſciples and companions of the apoſtles, which are ſtill extant, and at this time thought genuine,

and

and of great authority; ſuch as, the Epiſtle of Clemens to the Corinthians, the Epiſtles of Ignatius, the Epiſtle of Polycarp to the Phillippians, the Paſtor of Hermas, and the Epiſtle of Barnabas, &c. are all very eaſily proved to be ſpurious, and fraudulently impoſed upon the credulous.

Secondly, That it is the eaſieſt taſk in the world, to ſhew the ignorance and ſuperſtition of the writers of theſe books; that Barnabas has many ridiculous paſſages; and, by ſaying, that the apoſtles, before their converſion, were the greateſt ſinners in nature, we are robbed of an argument we draw from their integrity and ſimplicity againſt infidels: that the Paſtor of Hermas is the ſillieſt book in the world; and, that Ignatius ſays, The Virginity of Mary was a Secret to the Devil; which Dr. Clarke ſuppoſes, Mr. Toland cites as a ridiculous ſaying.

Thirdly, That they, who think theſe books genuine, ought to receive them into the canon of ſcripture, ſince the reputed authors of them were companions and fellow-labourers of the apoſtles, as well as St. Mark and St. Luke; which is the only reaſon (Mr. T. ever heard of) why theſe two evangeliſts are thought inſpired.

Theſe are the principal aſſertions of the author of Amyntor; in oppoſition to which, Dr. Clarke advances and maintains, the three following propoſitions:

Firſt,

First, That, though we are not infallibly certain, that the epiſtles of Clemens, Ignatius, Polycarp, and Barnabas, with the Paſtor of Hermas, are genuine; yet that they are generally believed to be ſo, upon very great authority, and with very good reaſon.

Secondly, That, therefore, though they are not received as of the ſame authority with the canonical books of the New Teſtament, yet they ought to have a proportionable veneration paid to them, both with reſpect to the authors, and to the writings themſelves.

Thirdly, That, Neither the belief of the genuineneſs of theſe books, nor the reſpect paid to them as ſuch, does in the leaſt diminiſh from the authority of the New Teſtament, or tend to make the number of the canonical books uncertain or precarious.

This tract was firſt publiſhed without a name in 1699, and ſince added to Dr. Clarke's Letter to Mr. Dodwell, &c.

In 1701, he publiſhed his Paraphraſe on the Goſpel of St. Matthew; which was ſoon followed by thoſe on St. Mark, Luke and John.

Among the many excellent commentaries and expoſitions upon the books of the holy ſcripture, there had been none, wherein the text of the New Teſtament is fully paraphraſed with brevity and plainneſs.

Eraſmus's performance of this kind is very elegant and judicious: but his explications are

large, having frequent digreſſions; in many places he indulges allegorical interpretations; and, beſides, the beauty of his work is very much loſt in our tranſlation.

The eminent and learned biſhop Hall wrote a pious expoſition upon particular difficult texts; but, becauſe it was only upon particular texts, the deſign itſelf allowed him not to regard tranſitions, and to make his paraphraſe one continued uninterrupted diſcourſe.

Dr. Hammond has, with great pains, collected all the aſſiſtances of antient and modern learning; and, with great ſucceſs, applied them to the explication of the New Teſtament. But thoſe who juſtly admire his great learning and ſkill in interpreting, yet complain of the obſcurity and perplexedneſs of his ſtile; which makes his paraphraſe ſomewhat difficult, and of leſs general uſe; and, beſides, it was never printed by itſelf without his large notes.

Dr. Patrick, biſhop of Ely, has, with admirable learning and judgment, brought this way of writing to perfection, in his Paraphraſe upon ſome books of the Old Teſtament; and all, who deſire to underſtand the Scriptures fully, will ever wiſh he had gone through all the writings of the Old and New Teſtament in the ſame way.

Others, who have written good Expoſitions upon the Holy Scriptures, have either made large commentaries, of leſs general and conſtant uſe; or have inſiſted chiefly on ſuch critical

tical obſervations, as are proper only for the learned.

Dr. Clarke tells us, he has "endeavoured, in theſe papers, to expreſs the full ſenſe of the evangeliſts in the plaineſt words; and to continue the ſenſe, without interruption, by the cleareſt tranſitions he could. He has all along conſulted the beſt expoſitors, and ſelected out of every one what ſeemed to diſcover the moſt natural meaning of the text; and, where any thing remarkable offered itſelf to his thoughts, different from what he met with in commentators, he ſet it down in ſhort notes in the margin. But other critical obſervations he has generally omitted (excepting what uſe is made of them in the Paraphraſe) that he might not ſwell the marginal notes into a commentary, and trouble the reader with repeating what others had ſaid already."

Of how great benefit theſe Paraphraſes have been, and always will be, to thoſe Engliſh readers, who have ſenſe and goodneſs enough to be pleaſed with a juſt repreſentation of the true meaning of what is recorded in the Goſpel, we need not ſay: and we cannot but expreſs our wiſhes, that he had purſued his original deſign, which was to have compleated the work upon the whole New Teſtament. — We are told he had actually begun his Paraphraſe upon the Acts of the Apoſtles; but ſomething accidental interrupted the execution;

and it is now only to be lamented, that he did not afterwards reſume and complete ſo excellent a work; which his friends often preſſed upon him, and to which he would ſometimes anſwer, That it was made leſs neceſſary by the labours of ſeveral worthy and learned perſons, ſince the publication of his work upon the Four Goſpels.——There have been four editions of Dr. Clarke's Paraphraſe.

Biſhop Moore gave our author the rectory of Drayton, near Norwich, and procured for him a pariſh in that city; both together of very inconſiderable value; and theſe he ſerved himſelf in the ſeaſon when the biſhop reſided at Norwich. His preaching was, at firſt, without notes; and ſo continued till he became rector of St. James's.

In the year 1704, he was appointed to preach Mr. Boyle's Lecture; and the ſubject he choſe, was, The Being and Attributes of God: in which he ſucceeded ſo well, that he was appointed to preach the ſame lecture the next year; when he choſe for his ſubject, The Evidences of Natural and Revealed Religion.

His ſermons on theſe ſubjects are thrown into continued diſcourſes, and printed together, under the general title of, A Diſcourſe concerning the Being and Attributes of God, the Obligations of Natural Religion, and the Truth and Certainty of Chriſtian Revelation; in Anſwer to Mr. Hobbs (Spinoza, the Author of The Oracles of Reaſon) and other Deniers

Deniers of Natural and Revealed Religion: being Sixteen Sermons, preached in the Cathedral Church of St. Paul, in the years 1704 and 1705, at the Lecture founded by Robert Boyle, esq.

The particular title of the first eight sermons is, A Demonstration of the Being and Attributes of God.

There having been already published, many and good books, to prove the Being and Attributes of God, our author chose to contract what was requisite for him to say upon this subject, into as narrow a compass, and to express what he had to offer, in as few words as he could with perspicuity. For which reason, he confined himself to one only method, or continued thread of arguing; which he endeavoured should be as near to mathematical, as the nature of such a discourse would allow; omitting some other arguments, which he could not discern to be so evidently conclusive: "because," to use his own words, "it seems not to be, at any time, for the real advantage of truth, to use arguments, in its behalf, founded only on such hypotheses, as the adversaries apprehend they cannot be compelled to grant." Yet he has not made it his business to oppose any of those arguments, because he thought it not the best way, "for any one to recommend his own performance, by endeavouring to discover the imperfection of others, who are engaged in the same design with himself,

ſelf, of promoting the intereſt of true religion and virtue."

Dr. Clarke's Sermons at Mr. Boyle's Lecture were printed in two diſtinct volumes; the former in 1705, and the latter in 1706. They have been ſince printed in one volume, and have paſſed through ſeveral editions. In the fourth and fifth editions, were added ſeveral letters to Dr. Clarke from a Gentleman in Glouceſterſhire (Dr. Joſeph Butler, afterwards biſhop of Briſtol) relating to the Demonſtration, &c. with the doctor's anſwers. In the ſixth and ſeventh editions, were added, A Diſcourſe concerning the Connection of the Prophecies in the Old Teſtament, and the Application of them to Chriſt; and, An Anſwer to a Seventh Letter concerning the Argument à Priori.

Dr. Clarke having endeavoured to ſhew, that the Being of a God may be demonſtrated by arguments à Priori (in which attempt, whether ſucceſsful or not, ſurely he may be excuſed) has unluckily involved the cenſure a very great wit has paſſed upon this method of reaſoning, in the following lines of the fourth book of his Dunciad, which he puts into the mouth of one of his Dunces addreſſing himſelf to the Goddeſs:

Let others creep by timid ſteps and ſlow,
On plain experience lay foundations low,
By common ſenſe to common knowledge bred,
And, laſt, to nature's cauſe thro' nature led.

All-

All-ſeeing in thy miſts, we want no guide,
Mother of arrogance, and ſource of pride!
We nobly take the high Priori road,
And reaſon downward, 'till we doubt of God.

Upon which we have the following note:

"Thoſe, who, from the effects in this viſible world, deduce the eternal power and Godhead of the Firſt Cauſe, though they cannot attain to an adequate idea of the Deity, yet diſcover ſo much of him, as enables them to ſee the end of their creation, and the means of their happineſs; whereas they, who take this high Priori road (as Hobbs, Spinoza, Des Cartes, and ſome Better Reaſoners) for one that goes right, ten loſe themſelves in miſts, or ramble after viſions, which deprive them of all ſight of their end, and miſlead them in the choice of wrong means."

Mr. Pope would, perhaps, have ſpared his better reaſoners, and not have joined them with ſuch company, had he recollected our author's apology for uſing the argument à Priori. The argument à Poſteriori, he tells us, is, indeed, by far, the moſt generally uſeful argument, moſt eaſy to be underſtood, and, in ſome degree ſuited to all capacities; and therefore it ought always to be diſtinctly inſiſted upon. But, for as much as atheiſtical writers have ſometimes oppoſed the Being and Attributes of God by ſuch metaphyſical reaſonings, as can no otherwiſe be obviated, than by ar-

guing à Priori; therefore this manner of arguing alſo is uſeful and neceſſary in its proper place.

Biſhop Hoadly, ſpeaking of Dr. Clarke's Demonſtration, &c. tells us, He has "laid the foundations of true religion too deep and ſtrong, to be ſhaken, either by the ſuperſtition of ſome, or the infidelity of others."—Thus he "choſe particularly to conſider the arguings of Spinoza and Hobbs, the moſt plauſible patrons of the ſyſtem of Fate and Neceſſity; a ſyſtem which, by deſtroying all true freedom of action in any intelligent being, at the ſame time deſtroys all that can be ſtiled virtue, or praiſe-worthy." That, "this being a ſubject, into which all the ſubtilties and querks of metaphyſics had entered, and thrown their uſual obſcurity and intricacy; the difficulty lay in clearing away this rubbiſh of confuſion; in introducing a language that could be underſtood; in clothing the cleareſt ideas in this plain and manly language; and in concluding nothing but from ſuch evidence as amounts to Demonſtrative." That, "He began with ſelf-evident propoſitions; from them advanced to ſuch as received their proof from the former; and in theſe took no ſtep till he had ſecured the way before him." That, "Throughout the whole, no word is uſed but what is intelligible to all who are at all verſed in ſuch ſubjects, and what expreſſes the clear idea in the mind of him who makes uſe of

of it." And, that "All is one regular building, erected upon an immoveable foundation, and rising up, from one ſtage to another, with equal ſtrength and dignity."

Let us hear Mr. Whiſton's opinion in relation to this performance of Dr. Clarke's. He tells us, when the author brought him his book, he was in his garden, over-againſt St. Peter's College, in Cambridge, where he then lived.

"Now I perceived," ſays he, "that, in theſe Sermons, he had dealt a great deal in abſtract and metaphyſic reaſonings. I therefore aſked him, how he ventured into ſuch ſubtilties, which I never durſt meddle with? and ſhewing him a nettle, or the like contemptible weed, in my garden, I told him, that weed contained better arguments for the Being and Attributes of God than all his metaphyſics. He confeſſed it to be ſo; but alledged, for himſelf, that, ſince ſuch philoſophers as Hobbs and Spinoza had made uſe of thoſe kind of ſubtilties againſt, he thought proper to ſhew, that the like way of reaſoning might be better made uſe of on the other ſide of religion. Which reaſon, or excuſe, I allowed not to be inconſiderable.

"As to myſelf, I confeſs I have long eſteemed ſuch kind of arguments as the moſt ſubtle, but the leaſt ſatisfactory, of all other, whatſoever. And my own opinion is, that,

perhaps, angels, or ſome of the orders of rational beings ſuperior to them, may be able to reaſon a great way à Priori, as it is called, and from metaphyſics, to their own and others ſatisfaction; but I do not perceive, that we men, in our preſent imperfect ſtate, can do ſo."

Whatever this honeſt gentleman can, or cannot, do, it is certain, that Dr. Clarke, and other ingenious men, of clear heads and ſound judgments, have reaſoned a great way à Priori; and that metaphyſical reaſoning, in ſuch hands, is not only the moſt ſatisfactory, but is the higheſt and nobleſt effort of the human underſtanding.

In his Diſcourſes On the Evidences of Natural and Revealed Religion, he laid the foundations of morality deep, in the mutual relations of things and perſons one to another; in the unalterable fitneſs of ſome actions, and the unfitneſs of others; and in the will of the great Creator of all things, evident from his making man capable of ſeeing theſe relations and this fitneſs of judging concerning them, and of acting agreeably to that judgment. He then proceeded to demonſtrate the Chriſtian religion to be worthy of God, from its internal evidence, taken from the perfect agreeableneſs of its main deſign to the light of nature, and to all moral obligations of eternal reaſon; without which agreeableneſs, all the arguments in the world could never conclude

in

in its favour; and, after this, to prove it to have been actually revealed to the world by God, from the external evidence of prophecy going before it, and of miraculous works performed in expreſs confirmation of it.

Theſe Sermons, together with thoſe on the Being and Attributes of God, every Chriſtian in this country, as biſhop Hoadly well obſerves, "ought to eſteem as his treaſure; as they contain the true ſtrength, not only of natural but of revealed religion; which, if ever it be removed from ſuch a foundation, or ſeparated from ſuch an alliance with reaſon and uncorrupted nature, will not long ſubſiſt in the belief of underſtanding perſons after ſuch a ſeparation: and therefore, What God hath joined together, let not man put aſunder."

About this time, or not much later, Mr. Whiſton tells us, he diſcovered that Mr Clarke had been looking into the primitive writers, and began to ſuſpect, that the Athanaſian doctrine of the Trinity was not the doctrine of the early ages.

Whether Mr. (Sir Iſaac) Newton had given Mr. Clarke any intimations of that nature, or whether it aroſe from enquiries of his own, Mr. Whiſton, who gives us this account, cannot directly inform us; though he inclines to the latter. This only he remembers to have heard Mr. Clarke ſay, that he never read the Athanaſian creed, in his pariſh, at or near Norwich, but once, and that was only by miſ-

take, at a time when it was not appointed by the rubrick.

In 1706, his patron biſhop Moore, by his intereſt, procured for him the rectory of St. Bennet Paul's wharf in London.

The ſame year, he publiſhed his letter to Mr. Dodwell, in anſwer to that author's Epiſtolary Diſcourſe concerning the Immortality of the Soul. The whole title is, A Letter to Mr. Dodwell; wherein all the arguments in his Epiſtolary diſcourſe againſt the Immortality of the Soul are particularly anſwered, and the judgment of the Fathers concerning that matter truly repreſented. Mr. Dodwell's book, againſt which this is levelled, is intitled: An Epiſtolary Diſcourſe, proving from the Scriptures, and the firſt Fathers, that the ſoul is a principle naturally mortal, but immortalized actually by the pleaſure of God, to puniſhment or to reward, by its union with the divine baptiſmal ſpirit: Wherein is proved, that none have the power of giving this divine immortalizing ſpirit, ſince the apoſtles, but only the biſhops.

The miſchievous tendency of this doctrine, as it was backed by the great name of the author in the learned world, made it more neceſſary that an anſwer ſhould be given to what, from another hand, might perhaps have been received as a deſigned banter upon both natural and revealed religion. Mr. Clarke was thought the moſt proper perſon for this work. "And he did it (ſays the biſhop of Win-

Winchester) in so excellent a manner, both with regard to the philosophical part, and to the opinions of some of the primitive writers, upon whom this doctrine was fixed, that it gave universal satisfaction." But this controversy did not stop here. For Mr. Anthony Collins, coming in as a second to Mr. Dodwell, went much farther into the philosophy of the dispute, and indeed seemed to produce all that could plausibly be said, against the immateriality of the soul, as well as the liberty of human actions.

This opened a larger field of controversy, into which Mr. Clarke entered, and wrote with such a spirit of clearness and demonstration, as shewed him greatly superior to his adversaries both in metaphysical and natural knowledge.

"And I am persuaded, (says bishop Hoadly,) that, as what he has writ in this controversy comprehends the little that the ancients had said well, and adds still more evidence than ever clearly appeared before, and in all words that had a meaning to them; it will remain the standard of good sense on that side of the question, on which he spent so many of his thoughts, as upon one of his favourite points."

Mr. Clarke's piece was soon followed by four defences of it in four several letters to the author of a letter to the learned Mr. Henry Dod-

Dodwell; containing ſome remarks on a (pretended) demonſtration of the immateriality and natural immortality of the ſoul, in Mr. Clarke's anſwer to his late Epiſtolary Diſcourſe, &c.

The ſame year likewiſe, he tranſlated Sir Iſaac Newton's Treatiſe of Opticks into elegant Latin.

In the midſt of his other labours, he found time alſo to ſhew his regard to the mathematical and phyſical ſtudies, and his exact knowledge and ſkill in them. And his natural affection and capacity for theſe ſtudies were not a little improved by the particular friendſhip of the incomparable Sir Iſaac Newton; at whoſe requeſt, biſhop Hoadly tells us, he tranſlated that excellent performance, and ſent it all over Europe in a plainer and leſs ambiguous ſtile, than the Engliſh language will permit. And here it may be proper to add, that, after the death of that great man, Dr. Clarke vindicated his doctrine concerning the proportion of velocity and force of bodies in motion, againſt the objections of ſome late mathematicians, in a ſhort, plain, and maſterly letter. Nor muſt it be forgot, that Sir Iſaac Newton was ſo particularly pleaſed with our author's verſion of his opticks, that he preſented him the ſum of five hundred pounds, or one hundred pound for each child, the doctor having then five children.

He was now brought by his patron to court, and recommended to the favour of queen Anne,

Anne, who appointed him one of her chaplains in ordinary; and ſoon after, in conſideration of his great merit, and at the requeſt of the biſhop, preſented him to the rectory of St. James's Weſtminſter: from which time he left off his former way of preaching without notes, and made it his buſineſs to compoſe, and write down, as accurate ſermons as he could.

From the time of his taking poſſeſſion of this living, he reſided conſtantly in the rectory-houſe; ſeldom leaving the place, unleſs for a few weeks in the long vacation, when the town was empty: and during the time of his being rector, beſides the regular performance of all the other duties of his profeſſion, he followed the cuſtom of his predeceſſors, in reading lectures upon the church catechiſm, every thurſday morning, for ſome months in the year.

Upon his advancement to this ſtation in 1709, he took the degree of doctor in divinity at Cambridge, and diſtinguiſhed himſelf upon thht occaſion by the performance of a remarkable public exerciſe. The queſtions on which he diſputed were theſe: I. Nullum Fidei Chriſtianæ Dogma, in S. Scripturis traditum, eſt rectæ rationi diſſentaneum, i. e. "No article of Chriſtian faith, delivered in the Holy Scriptures, is diſagreeable to right reaſon." II. Sine actionum humanarum libertate nulla poteſt eſſe religio, i. e. "Without the

the freedom of human actions there can be no religion."

The doctor's theſis was an elaborate diſcourſe upon the firſt of theſe two queſtions. Dr. James, then royal profeſſor of divinity, a very learned and acute diſputant, exerted himſelf more than uſual on this occaſion; and, after having ſifted every part of Dr. Clarke's Theſis with the ſtricteſt nicety, preſſed him in all the force of ſyllogiſm in its various forms. To the former our reſpondent made an extempore reply, in a continued diſcourſe for near half an hour; in which, without any heſitation either for thoughts or language, he took off the force of all that the profeſſor had ſaid, in ſuch a manner, that many of the auditors declared themſelves aſtoniſhed, and owned that, if they had not been within ſight of him, they ſhould have ſuppoſed he had read every word of his reply out of a paper.

After this, in the courſe of the ſyllogiſtical diſputation, he guarded ſo well againſt the arts, which the profeſſor was maſter of in perfection; replied ſo readily to the greateſt difficulties ſuch an objector could propoſe; and preſſed him ſo cloſe and hard with clear and intelligible anſwers; that, perhaps never was ſuch a conflict heard in the ſchools; nor any diſputation kept up with ſuch ſpirit, and ended with equal honour to the reſpondent. The profeſſor, who was a man of humour as well as learning, ſaid to him aloud, towards the end of the diſputation, Probe me exacuiſti, or

(as

(as others think) exercuiſti: which was looked upon as a very high compliment, in his humourous way of ſpeaking. And the learned members of the univerſity, who had with pleaſure attended to every part of the diſputation, went away diſcourſing to one another of the unuſual entertainment they had had in the ſchools: and particularly admiring, that, after an abſence of ſo many years, and a long courſe of buſineſs of quite another nature, they heard him now handling the ſubjects he undertook in ſuch a maſterly manner, as if this ſort of academical exerciſe had been his conſtant employment: and with ſuch a fluency and purity of expreſſion, as if he had been accuſtomed to no other language in converſation but Latin. Mr. Whiſton tells us, in the words of an unknown admirer of Dr. Clarke, who was preſent at this famous act, that "every creature was wrapt up into ſilence and aſtoniſhment, and thought the performance truly admirable."

In the courſe of this act, where I was preſent, adds Mr. Whiſton, profeſſor James, who knew of the intimacy of Dr. Clarke and me, knew alſo that I was a profeſſed Euſebeian, and ſuſpected Dr. Clarke to be a latent one; digreſſed from one of the doctor's queſtions, and preſſed him very hard to condemn one of the opinions I had juſt then publiſhed in my ſermons and eſſays; which book he held in his hand, when he was in the chair. I ſuppoſe it might be this, that our Saviour had no human

ſoul,

ſoul, but that the divine Λόγος, or word, ſupplied its place. This was done in ſuch a rude, indecent, and almoſt profane manner, as occaſioned the following tetraſtic, which was produced by Dr. Bentley, when Dr. Clarke and I ſupped with him that very evening:

Tune Mathematicum, male ſalſe Jacobe, laceſſis,
Hiſtrio dum ringis ſerium habere virum?
Ludis tu Chriſtum, Dominumque Deumque profeſſus:
Ille colit Dominum, quem negat eſſe Deum.

Which I have ſeen thus tranſlated:

And do'ſt thou, James, with awkard keenneſs mark
Whiſton, and ſcoffing fret at ſerious Clarke?
Thou jeſt'ſt on Chriſt, thy lord and God ſupreme:
Whiſton adores him Lord, but fears him God to name.

However Dr. Clarke, who, I believe, had not then particularly examined that point, did prudently avoid the approbation or condemnation of it.

The ſame year, he reviſed and corrected Mr. Whiſton's tranſlation of the Apoſtolical Conſtitutions into Engliſh.

Mr.

Mr. Whiſton tells us, that, his own ſtudies being chiefly upon things, and having rendered him incapable of being alſo a critick in words or languages, he deſired his great friend and great critick Dr. Clarke, to reviſe that tranſlation.

" We read (ſays he) a great part of it over together; as he corrected the reſt by himſelf, and ſent me the corrections: ſome or all of which I have now by me, under his own hand. I perceived their contents made then a very great impreſſion upon him; though he ſeemed, I know not how, to have ſuffered ſome part of that impreſſion to wear off afterward. When he had reviſed and corrected the whole, and found about ten or twelve places which he heſitated about, he recommended it to me to go to our great and common friend Dr. Smalridge (with whom my acquaintance commenced about the ſame time it did with Dr. Clarke, if not a little ſooner) for the laſt correction of thoſe more difficult places: who, as he was a very great admirer of the book itſelf, ſo was he pleaſed to examine and correct my verſion of it, as to every one of thoſe places. Theſe were the two perſons intimated, but not named by me, on this account, in the advertiſement to the firſt of my four volumes of Primitive Chriſtianity revived: where I juſtly call Dr. Clarke, one excellently ſkilled in ſuch matters and an accurate hand;

hand; and Dr. Smalridge, a very learned and judicious perſon."

In 1712, he publiſhed a beautiful edition of Cæſar's Commentaries; which is intituled, C. Julii Cæſaris quæ extant, accuratiſſime cum libris editis et MSS. optimis collata, recognita, et correcta: Acceſſerunt Annotationes Samuelis Clarke, S. T. P. Item indices locorum, rerumque et verborum, utiliſſimæ.

It was printed in 1712, in folio; and afterwards, in 1720, in 8vo. It was dedicated to the great duke of Marlborough, at a time when his unparallelled victories and ſucceſſes had raiſed his glory to the higheſt pitch abroad, and leſſened his intereſt and favour at home.

In the publication of this book, Dr. Clarke took particular care of the punctuation, or a proper diſtribution of each ſentence into its conſtituent members: an exactneſs too much neglected by learned men, though abſolutely neceſſary for preſerving the perſpicuity, and even the beauty of an author's language. In the Annotations, he ſelected what appeared the beſt and moſt judicious in other editors, with ſome corrections and emendations of his own interſperſed.

He acknowledges himſelf very particularly obliged to the learned Dr. Richard Bentley, for the uſe of a manuſcript in the king's library; to the reverend Dr. Robert Cannon, for ſome various readings, tranſcribed from the Muſæum of Iſaac Voſſius; but different from

from thoſe which are inſerted in the Amſterdam edition of Cæſar, with the notes of Dionyſius Voſſius; and, laſtly, to Dr. John Moore, biſhop of Ely, for a manuſcript, uſed by Dr. Davis, in his edition of Cæſar, and by him called the Norwich manuſcript, biſhop Moore being then biſhop of Norwich.

Mr. Addiſon takes notice of Dr. Clarke's folio edition of Cæſar's Commentaries in the following words:

"The new edition which is given us of Cæſar's Commentaries, has already been taken notice of in foreign Gazettes, and is a work that does honour to the Engliſh preſs. It is no wonder that an edition ſhould be very correct, which has paſſed through the hands of the moſt accurate, learned, and judicious writers this age has produced. The beauty of the paper, of the character, and of the ſeveral cuts, with which this noble work is illuſtrated, makes it the fineſt book that I have ever ſeen; and is a true inſtance of the Engliſh genius; which, though it does not come the firſt into any art, generally carries it to greater heights than any other country in the world."

Soon after this, Dr. Clarke became engaged in a warm controverſy, occaſioned by the publication of his Scripture Doctrine of the Trinity; of which notice was taken, and complaint made, by the lower houſe of convocation. in 1714: but the affair ſoon ended, upon

upon the members of the upper houſe declaring themſelves ſatisfied with the explanations, delivered in to them by the author upon the ſubject of the complaint.

His Scripture Doctrine of the Trinity was firſt publiſhed in 8vo, in 1712; and afterwards there was a ſecond edition, with ſome alterations, in 1716. The whole title is, The Scripture Doctrine of the Trinity: wherein every Text in the New Teſtament, relating to that Doctrine, is diſtinctly conſidered; and the Divinity of our bleſſed Saviour, according to the Scriptures, proved and explained.

"The ſubject of this book," the author tells us, "is a doctrine no way affecting the particular conſtitution, order, or external government of the church; but, in general, of great importance in religion: a matter not to be treated of ſlightly and careleſly, as it were by accident only, or after the manner of ſuperficial controverſies about words, or of particular occaſional queſtions concerning ambiguous texts; but which ought, when diſcourſed upon at all, to be examined thoroughly on all ſides, by a ſerious ſtudy of the whole ſcripture, and by taking care that the explication be conſiſtent with itſelf in every part."

It is divided into three parts. The firſt is, A Collection and Explication of all the Texts in the New Teſtament, relating to the Doctrine

trine of the Trinity. In the ſecond part, The foregoing Doctrine is ſet forth at large, and explained in particular and diſtinct Propoſitions. And, in the third, The principal Paſſages in the Liturgy of the Church of England, relating to the Doctrine of the Trinity are conſidered.

The biſhop of Wincheſter applauds our author's method of proceeding, in forming his own ſentiments upon ſo important a point.

"He knew, and all men agreed, that it was a matter of meer revelation; he did not therefore retire into his cloſet, and ſet himſelf to invent and form a plauſible hypotheſis, which might ſit eaſily upon his mind: he had not recourſe to abſtract and metaphyſical reaſonings, to cover or patronize any ſyſtem he might have embraced before: but, as a Chriſtian, he laid open the New Teſtament before him. He ſearched out every text, in which mention was made of the three Perſons, or of any one of them. He accurately examined the meaning of the words uſed about every one of them; and, by the beſt rules of grammar and critique, and by his ſkill in language, he endeavoured to fix plainly what was declared about every Perſon, and what was not.

"I am far from taking upon me," adds the biſhop, "to determine, in ſo difficult a queſtion, between Dr. Clarke, and thoſe who made replies to him. The debate ſoon grew very

very warm, and, in a little time, ſeemed to reſt principally upon him, and one particular adverſary, [Dr. Waterland, head of Magdalen-college, Cambridge,] very ſkilful in the management of a debate, and very learned and well verſed in the writings of the antient fathers.

This I hope I may be allowed to ſay, that every Chriſtian divine and layman, ought to pay his thanks to Dr. Clarke, for the method into which he brought this diſpute; and for that collection of the texts of the New Teſtament, by which, at laſt, it muſt be decided, on which ſide ſoever the truth may be ſuppoſed to lie.

"And let me add this one word more, that, ſince men of ſuch thought, and ſuch learning, have ſhewn the world, in their own example, how widely the moſt honeſt enquirers after truth may differ upon ſuch ſubjects; this, methinks, ſhould a little abate our mutual cenſures, and a little take off from our poſitiveneſs about the neceſſity of explaining, in this or that one determinate ſenſe, the antient paſſages relating to points of ſo ſublime a nature."

His lordſhip concludes what he had to ſay upon this ſubject, with aſſuring us, that, "from the time of Dr. Clarke's publiſhing this book, to the day of his death, he found no reaſon, as far as he was able to judge, to alter the notions which he had there profeſſed, concerning the Father, Son, and Holy Ghoſt, towards

towards any of those schemes, which seemed to him to derogate from the honour of the Father, on one side; or from that of the Son and Spirit, on the other.

"This," adds the bishop, "I thought proper just to mention, as what all his friends know to be truth."

Some time before the publication of Dr. Clarke's Scripture Doctrine of the Trinity, a message was sent him from the lord Godolphin, and others of queen Anne's ministers, importing, That the affairs of the public were with difficulty then kept in the hands of those, who were at all for liberty; that it was therefore an unseasonable time for the publication of a book which would make a great noise and disturbance; and that therefore they desired him to forbear, till a fitter opportunity should offer itself.

This message Dr. Clarke had no regard to, but went on, according to the dictates of his conscience, with the publication of his book. Since Dr. Clarke's death, a third edition of this book has been printed, with very great additions, left under the author's own hand, ready prepared for the press.

As it gave occasion to a great number of books and pamphlets on the subject, written by himself and others, we shall subjoin a list of those published by our author, referring, for the rest, to a pamphlet, intitled, An Ac-

count of all the conſiderable Books and Pamphlets, that have been wrote on either Side, in the controverſy concerning the Trinity, ſince the Year 1712: in which is alſo contained an Account of the Pamphlets writ this laſt Year on each ſide by the Diſſenters, to the End of the Year 1719. London, 1720, in 8vo.

Dr. Clarke's Tracts are as follow:

I. A Letter to the Reverend Dr. Wells, in Anſwer to his Remarks. London, 1714, in 8vo.

II. A Reply to the Objections of Robert Nelſon, eſq. and of an anonymous Author, [ſuppoſed to be Dr. James Knight, vicar of St. Sepulchre's, in London.] againſt Dr. Clarke's Scripture Doctrine of the Trinity. Being a Commentary on forty ſelect Texts of Scripture.

III. An Anſwer to the Remarks of the Author [Dr. Gaſtrel, biſhop of Cheſter] of ſome Conſiderations concerning the Trinity, and the Ways of managing that Controverſy. — Theſe two laſt were publiſhed together, London, 1714, in 8vo.

IV. A Letter to the late reverend Mr. R. M. [Richard Mayo] containing Obſervations upon his Book, intitled, A Plain Scripture Argument againſt Dr. Clarke's Doctrine concerning the ever-bleſſed Trinity.

V. A Letter to the Author of a Book, intitled, The True Scripture Doctrine of the

moſt

moſt holy and undivided Trinity, continued and vindicated. Recommended firſt by Mr. Nelſon, and then by Dr. Waterland.——The two laſt pieces were publiſhed together, London, 1712, in 8vo. at the end of a Tract, by another Author, intitled, The modeſt Plea for the Baptiſmal and Scripture Notion of the Trinity, &c.

VI. The Modeſt Plea continued; or, A Brief and Diſtinct Anſwer to Dr. Waterland's Queries relating to the Doctrine of the Trinity. London, 1720, in 8vo.

VII. Obſervations on Dr. Waterland's Second Defence of his Queries. London, 1724, in 8vo.

VIII. Dr. Clarke's Replies to the Author of Three Letters to Dr. Clarke, from a Clergyman of the Church of England, concerning his Scripture Doctrine of the Trinity.——The Letters and Replies were publiſhed together, by the author of the Letters, London, 1714. in 8vo.

The complaint above-mentioned was ſent to the upper-houſe, on the ſecond of June, ſetting forth: "That a book had been lately publiſhed, and diſperſed throughout the province, intitled, The Scripture Doctrine, &c. and ſeveral Defences thereof, by the ſame author: which book, and defences, did, in their opinion, contain aſſertions contrary to the catholic faith, as received and declared by the

reformed church of England, concerning Three Perſons, of one Subſtance, Power, and Eternity; in the Unity of the Godhead; and tending moreover to perplex the minds of men in the ſolemn acts of worſhip, as directed by our eſtabliſhed Liturgy," &c.

The biſhops returned, for anſwer, on the fourth of June, That they approved the zeal of the lower houſe, thought they had juſt cauſe of complaint, and would take it into their conſideration.

On the twelfth of June, their lordſhips ſent a meſſage to the lower houſe, directing an extract to be made of particulars out of the books complained of.

On the twenty-third of June, the ſaid extract was accordingly laid before the biſhops, diſpoſed under the following heads:

I. Aſſertions contrary to the Catholic Faith, as received and declared by this Reformed Church of England, concerning Three Perſons, of one Subſtance, Power, and Eternity, in the Unity of the Godhead.

II. Paſſages tending to perplex the minds of Men in the ſolemn Acts of Worſhip, as directed by our eſtabliſhed Liturgy.

III. Paſſages in the Liturgy, and Thirty-nine Articles, wreſted by Dr. Clarke in ſuch a Manner as is complained of in the Repreſentation.

Dr.

Dr. Clarke drew up a Reply to this Extract, dated June twenty-ſix; which, it ſeems, was preſented to ſome of the biſhops; but, for what reaſon we are not told, was not laid before the houſe.

After this, there appearing, in almoſt the whole upper houſe, a great diſpoſition to prevent diſſentions and diviſions, by coming to a temper in this matter; Dr. Clarke was prevailed upon to lay before the houſe, a paper, dated the ſecond of July, ſettting forth,

"First, That his opinion was, that the Son of God was eternally begotten by the eternal incomprehenſible power and will of the Father.

"Secondly, That, before his book, intitled, The Scripture Doctrine, &c. was publiſhed, he did, indeed, preach two or three ſermons upon this ſubject; but, ſince the book was publiſhed, he had never preached upon this ſubject; and, becauſe he thought it not fair to propoſe particular opinions, where there is not liberty of anſwering, he was willing to promiſe, as indeed he intended, not to preach any more on this ſubject.

"Thirdly, That he did not intend to write any more concerning the doctrine of the Trinity: but, if he ſhould fail herein, and write any thing hereafter, upon this ſubject, contrary to the doctrine of the church of England,

he did hereby willingly ſubmit himſelf to any ſuch cenſure, as his ſuperiors ſhould think fit to paſs upon him.

"Fourthly, That, whereas it had been confidently reported, that the Athanaſian Creed, and the third and fourth petitions in the Litany, had been omitted in his church by his direction, he did hereby declare, That the third and fourth petitions in the Litany had never been omitted at all, as far as he knew; and, that the Athanaſian Creed was never omitted at eleven o'clock prayers, but at early prayers only, for brevity ſake, at the diſcretion of the curate, and not by his appointment.

"Fifthly, That, as to his private converſation, he was not conſcious to himſelf, that he had given any occaſion for thoſe reports which have been ſpread concerning him, with relation to this controverſy."

The paper concludes with theſe words:

"I am ſorry that what I ſincerely intended for the honour and glory of God, and ſo to explain this great myſtery, as to avoid the hereſies in both extremes, ſhould have given any offence to this ſynod, and particularly to my lords the biſhops. I hope my behaviour, for the time to come, with relation hereunto, will be ſuch, as to prevent any future complaints againſt me."

After

After this paper had been laid before the upper houſe, Dr. Clarke, being apprehenſive, that, if it ſhould be publiſhed ſeparately, as afterwards happened, without any true account of the preceding and following circumſtances, it might be liable to be miſunderſtood in ſome particulars; cauſed an explanation, dated on the fifth of July, to be preſented to the biſhop of London, the next time the upper houſe met; ſetting forth:

"That, whereas the paper laid before their lordſhips, the Friday before, was, thro' haſte and want of time, not drawn up with ſufficient exactneſs, &c. he thought himſelf indiſpenſibly obliged in conſcience to acquaint their lordſhips, that he did not mean thereby to retract any thing he had written; but to declare, that the opinion ſet forth at large in his Sripture Doctrine, &c. is, that the Son was eternally begotten by the eternal incomprehenſible Power and Will, &c. and, that, by declaring he did not intend to write any more concerning the doctrine of the Trinity, he did not preclude himſelf from a liberty of making any inoffenſive corrections in his former books, if they ſhould come to another edition; or from vindicating himſelf from any miſrepreſentations or aſperſions, which might poſſibly hereafter be caſt upon him on occaſion of this controverſy."

After the delivery of the foregoing explanation to the biſhop of London, the upper houſe reſolved, on the fifth of July, to proceed no farther upon the extract laid before them by the lower houſe; and ordered Dr. Clarke's papers to be entered in the acts of that houſe. But the lower houſe, not ſo ſatisfied, reſolved, on the ſeventh of July, That the paper ſubſcribed by Dr. Clarke, and communicated to them by the biſhops, does not contain in it any recantation of the heretical aſſertions, and offenſive paſſages, complained of in their Repreſentation, and afterwards produced in their Extract; nor gives ſuch ſatisfaction for the great ſcandal occaſioned thereby, as ought to put a ſtop to any further examination and cenſure thereof.

Thus ended this affair; the moſt authentic account of which we have in a piece intitled, An Apology for Dr. Clarke; containing, an Account of the late Proceedings in Convocation upon his Writings concerning the Trinity. London, 1714, in 8vo.

It was written, Mr. Whiſton tells us, by a worthy clergyman in the country [ſuppoſed to be the reverend Mr. John Lawrence, M. A.] a common friend of his and Dr. Clarke's, and contains true copies of the original papers relating to the proceedings of the convocation and Dr. Clarke; communicated by the doctor himſelf, and occaſioned by his friend's letter to him, in relation to his conduct; which letter,

ter, with Dr. Clarke's anſwer, is printed in the Apology.

The paper laid by Dr. Clarke before the upper houſe of convocation, was preſently publiſhed, by an unknown hand, without the explanation that followed it, the reſolution of the biſhops conſequent thereupon, or the vote of the lower houſe, which followed that reſolution.

This gave occaſion to a report, both in writing and printed news-papers, that Dr. Clarke had retracted what he had written concerning the doctrine of the Trinity. Particularly, in the Political State of Great-Britain for June, 1714, were publiſhed theſe words:

"A few days after," after the extract was ſent up, "Dr. Clarke thought fit to make a ſubmiſſion to the upper houſe, and to deliver to their lordſhips a paper, wherein he promiſed neither to write nor preach any more upon thoſe abſtruſe points; whereby an end was put to that portentous affair. And, oh! that all divines would be as wiſe, and ſacrifice their private opinions to the peace and unity of the church."

And, in October following, in a book intitled, The Hiſtory of the Firſt and Second Seſſion of the laſt Parliament, were publiſhed the following words:

"The upper houſe of convocation being made ſenſible, that he," Dr. Clarke, "had made a ſacrifice of his private opinions to the peace and unity of the church; and that by this prudent and Chriſtian behaviour," &c.

About the ſame time came out ſeveral other accounts of the proceedings of the convocation relating to this matter; moſt of which ſeemed to repreſent Dr. Clarke as having made ſuch compliances, as could not but be a great diſcouragement to all who placed their religion in a free and impartial ſtudy of the Scriptures.—How far Dr. Clarke's conduct upon this occaſion, as repreſented above, will ſerve to juſtify theſe reports, is left to the reader's judgment. In the mean time, impartiality obliges us to ſet down Mr. Whiſton's reflections upon this affair.

He calls Dr. Clarke's opinion delivered in to the biſhops (at the head of the paper, recited above) a New Declaration of his belief of a ſort of eternity of the ſon and ſpirit; the delivery of which Declaration he had heard him long ſtile a fooliſh thing: the occaſions of which, he thinks, beſides the ſiniſter motives of human caution, and human fear, were theſe two: Firſt, his own metaphyſical opinion, which he conſtantly and vigorouſly maintained, that any creature whatſoever might poſſibly have been coëternal with its creator; and, ſecondly, that biſhop Smalridge, whoſe opinion

was

was chiefly regarded, had dropped ſome words beforehand, intimating, that, "As to other of D. Clarke's metaphyſical notions about the Trinity, he did not think it neceſſary to proceed to their condemnation, provided he would but declare the eternity of the Son of God."

This New Declaration, Mr. Whiſton adds, was made, contrary to the wiſer advice of Dr. Bradford, who would have had Dr. Clarke rather tranſcribe ſome ſuch parts of his own books, as came neareſt to the common doctrine, and ſend them to the convocation, as ſo far a declaration of his faith: "which (ſays Mr. Whiſton) would have been a method of proceeding, both more honeſt and more unexceptionable." And Mr. Whiſton is of opinion, there is a great deal of truth in what is ſaid, that Dr. Clarke was prevailed upon to deliver in his new, ſuſpicious declaration; the true point (he thinks) being "Save thyſelf and us:" both of which were by this means obtained.

About the year 1712, Dr. Clarke had a conference with Dr. Smalridge, concerning the Trinity, at Thomas Cartwright's eſq; at Aynho in Northamptonſhire.

It was propoſed, Mr. Whiſton tells us, by the former, in order to the conviction of the latter. And if any perſon in England was able to convince upon that head, he thinks it muſt have been Dr. Smalridge, who was a thorough maſter of thoſe original books of

Chriſtianity, from whence the arguments were to be taken, and who wanted not ſagacity nor good will to enforce them. However, if Mr. Whiſton is to be credited, Dr. Smalridge failed of ſucceſs, and the company were generally ſatisfied that the evidence on Dr. Clarke's ſide was greatly ſuperior to the other.

In 1715 and 1716, he had a diſpute with the celebrated Mr. Leibnitz, relating to the principles of natural philoſophy and religion; and a collection of the papers, which paſſed between them, was publiſhed in 1717.

To this collection are added, Letters to Dr. Clarke concerning Liberty and Neceſſity, from a Gentleman (Richard Bulkley, eſq;) of the Univerſity of Cambridge; with the Doctor's Anſwers to them: alſo remarks upon a book, intitled, A Philoſophical Enquiry concerning human Liberty (by Anthony Collins, eſq;). This book is inſcribed to her late majeſty, queen Caroline (then princeſs of Wales) who was pleaſed, the biſhop of Wincheſter tells us, to have the controverſy paſs through her hands, and was the witneſs and judge of every ſtep of it. And Dr. Clarke, Mr. Whiſton informs us, uſed often to ſpeak with admiration of the queen's marvellous ſagacity and judgment in the ſeveral parts of the diſpute.

It related chiefly to the important and difficult points of liberty and neceſſity; points in which Dr. Clarke always excelled, and ſhewed

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a ſuperiority to all, whenever they came into private diſcourſe, or public debate. But, as the biſhop of Wincheſter juſtly obſerves, he never more excelled, than when he was preſſed with the ſtrength his learned adverſary was maſter of; which made him exert all his talents, to ſet the ſubject once more in a clear light, to guard it againſt the evil of metaphyſical obſcurities, and to give the finiſhing ſtroke to what muſt ever be the foundation of morality in man, and is the ſole ground of the accountableneſs of intelligent creatures for all their actions.

"And as this, adds the biſhop, was the laſt of Dr. Clarke's works relating to a ſubject, which had been, by the writings of cloudy or artful men, rendered ſo intricate; I ſhall take the liberty to ſay, with regard to all of the ſame tendency, from his firſt diſcourſe about the being of God, to theſe letters, that what he has written to clear and illuſtrate this cauſe, does now ſtand, and will for ever remain, before the world, a laſting monument of a genius, which could throw in light where darkneſs uſed to reign; and force good ſenſe and plain words into what was almoſt the priveledged place of obſcurity and unintelligible ſounds. For ſuch, indeed, had the ſubject before us been, under the hands of moſt who had written upon it; either through a deſire of darkening it by words without meaning,

meaning, or through an inability of diſcourſing clearly and conſiſtently about it."

Mr. Whiſton obſerves, that Mr. Leibnitz was preſſed ſo hard by Dr. Clarke, from matter of fact, known laws of motion, and the diſcoveries of Sir Iſaac Newton (who tells us, that he heartily aſſiſted the doctor), that he was forced to have recourſe to metaphyſical ſubtilities, and to a pre-eſtabliſhed harmony of things, in his own imagination, which he ſtyles a ſuperior reaſon; till it was ſoon ſeen, that monſieur Leibnitz's ſuperior reaſon ſerved to little elſe, but to confirm the great ſuperiority of experience and mathematics above all ſuch metaphyſical ſubtilties whatſoever. "And I confeſs, adds Mr. Whiſton, I look upon theſe letters of Dr. Clarke, as among the moſt uſeful of his performances in natural philoſophy."

In 1718, a controverſy aroſe concerning the primitive Doxologies, occaſioned by an alteration made by Dr. Clarke in thoſe of the ſinging Pſalms.

This he did in certain ſelect hymns and pſalms, reprinted that year for the uſe of St. James's pariſh. The alterations were theſe:

To God, through Chriſt, his only Son,
Immortal Glory be, &c.

And,

To God, thro' Chriſt, his Son, our Lord,
All Glory be therefore, &c.

A con-

A conſiderable number of theſe ſelect pſalms and hymns having been diſperſed by the ſociety for promoting of Chriſtian knowledge, before the alteration of the doxologies was taken notice of, Dr. Clarke was charged with a deſign of impoſing upon the ſociety; whereas, in truth, the edition of them had been prepared by him for the uſe of his own pariſh only, before the ſociety had any thoughts of purchaſing any of the copies.

However, the biſhop of London thought proper to publiſh A Letter to the Incumbents of all Churches and Chapels in his Dioceſe, concerning their not uſing any Forms of Doxology, dated December 26, 1718. This letter was animadverted upon by Mr. Whiſton, in his Letter of Thanks to the right reverend the lord biſhop of London, for his late Letter to his clergy againſt the uſe of new forms of doxology, &c. dated January 17, 1718-19; and in a pamphlet, intitled, An humble Apology for St. Paul, and the other Apoſtles; or, a Vindication of them and their Doxologies from the charge of hereſy. By Cornelius Paets. London 1719.

Soon after came out an ironical piece, intitled, A Defence of the Biſhop of London, in Anſwer to Mr. Whiſton's Letter of Thanks, addreſſed to the archbiſhop of Canterbury. To which is added, A Vindication of Dr. Sacheverell's late Endeavour to turn Mr. Whiſ-

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ton out of his church. Mr. Whiſton's Letter of Thanks occaſioned likewiſe the two following pieces: viz. The Lord Biſhop of London's Letter to his clergy vindicated, &c. By a Believer; London 1719: and A ſeaſonable Review of Mr. Whiſton's Account of Primitive Doxologies, &c. By a Preſbyter of the Dioceſe of London (Suppoſed to be Dr. William Berriman). London 1719. To the latter Mr. Whiſton replied in A Second Letter to the biſhop of London, &c. dated March 11, 1718-19: and the author of the Seaſonable Review, &c. anſwered him in a Second Review, &c. As to Dr. Clarke's conduct in this affair, Mr. Whiſton eſteems it "one of the moſt Chriſtian attempts towards ſomewhat of reformation, upon the primitive foot, that he ever ventured upon." But he adds, that the biſhop of London, in the way of modern authority, was quite too hard for Dr. Clarke, in the way of primitive Chriſtianity.

About this time, he was preſented by Mr. Sechmere, chancellor of the duchy of Lancaſter, to the maſterſhip of Wigſtan hoſpital in Leiceſter.

In 1724, he publiſhed in octavo, ſeventeen ſermons on ſeveral occaſions, eleven of which were never before printed. In 1727, upon the death of Sir Iſaac Newton, he was offered the place of maſter of the mint, which he thought proper to refuſe.

Upon

Upon the offer of this place, he adviſed with his friends, and particularly with Mr. Emlyn and Mr. Whiſton; who were both heartily againſt it, as what he did not want, as what was entirely remote from his profeſſion; and would hinder the ſucceſs of his miniſtry. To which Mr. Whiſton added, as his principal reaſon againſt it, that ſuch refuſal would ſhew that he was in earneſt with religion. Dr. Clarke was himſelf of the ſame opinion, and could never reconcile himſelf to this ſecular preferment. And it is taken notice of to the honour of Mrs. Clarke, that ſhe never ſet her heart upon the advantages this place would produce to her family, but left the doctor at full liberty to act as his conſcience and inclination ſhould direct him. Mr. Whiſton, who particularly mentions this affair, informs us, that Mr. Conduit, who ſucceeded, gave a thouſand pounds to vacate a place among the king's writers; which was given to one of Dr. Clarke's ſons.

In 1728, was publiſhed, A Letter from Dr. Clarke to Mr. Benjamin Hoadly, concerning The Proportion of Velocity and Force in Bodies in motion. The beginning of the year 1729, he publiſhed at London in quarto, the twelve firſt books of Homer's Iliad.

This edition was dedicated to his royal highneſs the duke of Cumberland. The Latin verſion is almoſt entirely new, and annotations

notations are added at the bottom of the pages. Homer, the biſhop of Wincheſter tells us, was Dr. Clarke's admired author, even to a degree of ſomething like enthuſiaſm hardly natural to his temper; and that in this he went a little beyond the bounds of Horace's judgment, and was ſo unwilling to allow the favourite poet ever to nod, that he has taken remarkable pains to find out, and give a reaſon for every paſſage, word, and tittle, that could create any ſuſpicion.

"The tranſlation, adds his lordſhip, with his corrections, may now be ſtiled accurate; and his notes, as far as they go, are indeed a treaſury of grammatical and critical knowledge. He was called to this taſk by royal command; and he has performed it in ſuch a manner, as to be worthy of the young prince for whom it was laboured. The praiſes given to this excellent work by the writers abroad in their memoirs, as well as by the learned maſters of the three principal ſchools of England, thoſe of Weſtminſter, Eton, and St. Paul's; and the ſhort character, that the performance was ſupra omnem invidiam, beſtowed by one, whom Dr. Clarke had long before ſtiled, criticos unes omnes longe longeque antecellens, and whom every one will know by that title without my naming him; make it unneceſſary to add a word upon this ſubject."

The

The twelve laſt books of the Iliad were publiſhed, in 1732, in quarto by our author's ſon, Mr. Samuel Clarke, who informs us, in the preface, that his father had finiſhed the annotations to the three firſt of thoſe books, and as far as the three hundred and fifty-ninth verſe of the fourth; and had reviſed the text and verſion as far as verſe five hundred and ten of the ſame book. A ſecond edition of the whole was publiſhed in 1735, in two volumes octavo.

This was the laſt year of this great and learned man's life: for he was taken ſuddenly ill the eleventh of May, and died on the ſeventeenth.

The day on which he was taken ill he went out in the morning, to preach before the judges at Serjeant's-inn; and there was ſeized with a pain in his ſide, which made it impoſſible for him to perform the office he was called to, and became quickly ſo violent, that he was obliged to be carried home. He went to bed, and thought himſelf ſo much better in the afternoon, that he would not ſuffer himſelf to be blooded; againſt which remedy he had entertained ſtrong prejudices. But the pain returning very violently about two the next morning, made the advice and aſſiſtance of a very able phyſician abſolutely neceſſary; who, after twice bleeding him, and other applications, thought him, as he alſo thought himſelf, to be out of all danger;

and

and ſo continued to think, till the Saturday morning following; when, to the inexpreſſible ſurpriſe of all about him, the pain removed from his ſide to his head; and, after a very ſhort complaint, took away his ſenſes, ſo as they never returned any more. He continued breathing till between ſeven and eight in the evening of that day (May 17) and then died.

He married Katherine the only daughter of the reverend Mr. Lockwood, rector of Little Maſſingham in Norfolk; by whom he had ſeven children, two of which died before him, and one a few weeks after him. Since his death, have been publiſhed, from his original manuſcripts, by his brother Dr. John Clarke, dean of Sarum, An Expoſition on the Church Catechiſm, and ten volumes of ſermons.

It is made up of thoſe lectures he read, every Thurſday morning, for ſome months in the year, at St. James's church. In the latter part of his time, he reviſed them with great care, and left them completely prepared for the preſs. The firſt edition of them was in 1729.

This performance of Dr. Clarke's was immediately animadverted upon by a very learned divine (Dr. Waterland, head of Magdalen college Cambridge), under the title of, Remarks upon Dr. Clarke's Expoſition of the Church Catechiſm. This produced an Anſwer

ſwer to the Remarks upon Dr. Clarke's Expoſition of the Church Catechiſm (by Dr. Sykes dean of Burien).

The author of the Remarks replied in a piece, intitled, The Nature, Obligation, and Efficacy, of the Chriſtian Sacraments, conſidered; in Reply to a Pamphlet, intitled, An Anſwer, &c. As alſo the comparative Value of Moral and Poſitive Duties diſtinctly ſtated and cleared. The Anſwerer rejoined, in A Defence of the Anſwer, &c. Wherein the Difference between Moral and Poſitive Duties is fully ſtated. Being a Reply to, &c. This occaſioned a Supplement to the Treatiſe, intitled, An Anſwer, &c. Wherein the Nature and Value of Poſitive Inſtitutions is more particularly examined, and Objections anſwered. By the ſame author. Then followed the Anſwerer's Reply, intitled, The true Foundations of Natural and Revealed Religion aſſerted: being a Reply to the Supplement, &c. Which being animadverted upon by the Remarker in the Poſtſcript to his Second Part of Scripture vindicated, produced An Anſwer to the Poſtſcript, &c. Wherein is ſhewn, that if Reaſon be not a ſufficient Guide in Matters of Religion, the bulk of Mankind, for a thouſand years, had no ſufficient Guide at all in Matters of Religion.

The particulars of Dr. Clarke's character are conciſely drawn by the maſterly hand of Dr. Hare, biſhop of Wincheſter, author of

Difficul-

Difficulties and Diſcouragements, which attend the Study of the Scripture, in the Way of private Judgment. What he ſays, in reſpect to the character of our author, is as follows:

"Dr. Clarke is a man, who has all the good qualities, that can meet together, to recommend him. He is poſſeſſed of all the parts of learning, that are valuable in a clergyman, in a degree that few poſſeſs any ſingle one. He has joined, to a good ſkill in the three learned languages, a great compaſs of the beſt philoſophy and mathematics, as appears by his Latin works; and his Engliſh ones are ſuch a proof of his own piety, and of his knowledge in divinity, and have done ſo much ſervice to religion, as would make any other man, that was not under the ſuſpicion of hereſy, ſecure of the friendſhip and eſteem of all good churchmen, eſpecially of the clergy: and to all this piety and learning, and the good uſe that has been made of it, is added, a temper happy beyond expreſſion; a ſweet, eaſy, modeſt, inoffenſive, obliging behaviour, adorn all his actions; and no paſſion, vanity, inſolence, or oſtentation, appear either in what he writes or ſays: and yet theſe faults are often incident to the beſt of men, in the freedom of converſation, and in the writing againſt impertinent and unreaſonable adverſaries, eſpecially ſuch as ſtrike at the foundation of virtue and religion.

"This

"This is the learning, this the temper, of the man, whoſe ſtudy of the ſcriptures has betrayed him into a ſuſpicion of ſome heretical opinions."

After this ſhort, but comprehenſive, character, and what has been already ſaid of Dr. Clarke as an author, we ſhall add only a few particulars from the accounts given us by biſhop Hoadly and Mr. Whiſton.

The former, in his character of Dr. Clarke, tells us, The firſt ſtrokes of knowledge, in ſome of its branches, ſeemed to be little leſs than natural to him; for they appeared to lie right in his mind, as ſoon as any thing could appear. He had one happineſs, very rarely known among the greateſt men, that his memory was almoſt equal to his judgment. He had ſo ready a genius, that he immediately comprehended what coſt others a great deal of pains; and was eſteemed one of the beſt judges to apply to, for a quick determination about the force or failure of any arguments. His critical ſkill in the learned languages he made ſubſervient to the cauſe of religion, as well as polite learning.

The deſign and tendency of his preaching, was not to move the paſſions, nor had he any talent that way; but then his ſentiments and expreſſions were ſo maſterly, and his way of explaining the phraſeology of Scripture ſo extraordinary and convincing, as more than made amends for his want of the other.

His

His converſation, which was highly uſeful and inſtructive, was attended with a readineſs of thought, and clearneſs of expreſſion, which hardly ever failed him, when his opinion was aſked upon the moſt important and trying queſtions.

His piety was manly and unaffected; his charity and benevolence, extenſive as the whole rational creation; and the ruling principle of his heart and practice, a love of the religious and civil liberties of mankind. In a word, his life, when he came into a view of the great world, was an ornament and ſtrength to that religion his pen ſo well defended.

Mr. Whiſton gives us a remarkable example of what biſhop Hoadly obſerves, That the firſt ſtrokes of knowledge ſeemed to be little leſs than natural to him. He had it from Dr. Clarke's own mouth, and it is this:

"One of his parents aſked him, when he was very young, Whether God could do every thing? He anſwered, Yes. He was aſked again, Whether God could do one particular thing, could tell a lye? He anſwered, No: and he underſtood the queſtion to ſuppoſe, that this was the only thing that God could not do. Nor durſt he ſay, ſo young was he then, he thought there was any thing elſe which God could not do; while he well remembered, he had even then a clear conviction, in his own mind, that there was one other thing which God could not do; viz. that

that he could not annihilate that ſpace, which was in the room where they were. Which impoſſibility now appears even in Sir Iſaac Newton's own philoſophy.

Mr. Whiſton fully agrees to the character above given of Dr. Clarke, by the author of Difficulties and Diſcouragements, &c. with ſuch abatements as the Memoirs he himſelf has given us of this great man will make neceſſary. Theſe abatements reſpecting ſome part of the Doctor's conduct, impartiality requires us to dwell a little longer on this article.

In the firſt place, he blames Dr. Clarke for ſubſcribing the articles, at a time when he could not, with perfect truth and ſincerity, aſſent to the Athanaſian parts of them. This was at his taking the degree of doctor in divinity.

Mr. Whiſton, then profeſſor of mathematics at Cambridge, endeavoured to diſſuade him from it; and, when he could not prevail on that head, he earneſtly preſſed him to declare openly, and in writing, in what ſenſe he ſubſcribed the ſuſpected articles; but he could not prevail on this head either.

Upon this occaſion, profeſſor James, who ſuſpected Dr. Clarke of an inclination to heretical pravity, ſaid to him, upon ſubſcribing the articles, He hoped he would not go from his ſubſcription. The doctor replied, He could promiſe nothing as to futurity, and could only anſwer as to his preſent ſentiments.

However, Mr. Whiſton acknowledges, that Dr. Clarke, for many years before he died, perpetually refuſed all, even the greateſt preferments, which required ſubſcription, and never encouraged thoſe, who conſulted him, to ſubſcribe.

In the next place, he objects to Dr. Clarke his not acting ſincerely, boldly, and openly, in the declaration of his true opinions, and his over-cautious, and over-timorous way of ſpeaking, writing, and acting, in points of the higheſt conſequence. When Mr. Whiſton gave him frequent and vehement admonitions upon this head, his general anſwer he tells us was, who are thoſe that act better than I do? "Very few of which (ſays he) I could ever name to him; though I did not think this a ſufficient excuſe." Laſtly, Mr. Whiſton is greatly diſpleaſed with Dr. Clarke's conduct in relation to the affair of the convocation.

We have already ſeen ſome of his reflections upon that event, the event, the account of which he concludes with theſe words: "Thus ended this unhappy affair; unhappy to Dr. Clarke's own conſcience; unhappy to his beſt friends; and above all unhappy as to its conſequences in relation to the opinion unbelievers were hereupon willing to entertain of him, as if he had prevaricated all along in his former writings for Chriſtianity."

This concluſion however, Mr. Whiſton owns, was two haſty, and that Dr. Clarke did by

by degrees recover part of his former character. We ſhall finiſh this remark, and this whole account of Dr. Clarke with obſerving, that his great abilities and acquirements made him perpetually ſought after by all the greateſt lovers of virtue and knowledge: and to ſuch a degree, that, through his laſt years, he could command but very little time for his own ſtudies, even in the morning: that, as he was the darling of the great and powerful, ſo, in particular, her late majeſty queen Caroline, from her firſt acquaintance with his character to the day of his death, ſhe had of his comprehenſive capacity, and uſeful learning, by very frequent converſations with him upon the moſt important point of true philoſophy, and real knowledge.

THE

THE LIFE OF

JOHN LOCKE.

JOHN LOCKE, the celebrated philoſopher, was born at Wrington, in Somerſetſhire, on the twenty-ninth of Auguſt, 1632.

During his infancy, his education was conducted with a paternal care and affection; but with much ſtrictneſs and ſeverity by his father, who, being bred to the law, was a ſteward, or court-keeper, to colonel Alexander Popham; and, upon breaking out of the civil-wars, became a captain of the parliament's army.

Mr. Le Clerc tells us, that our author always ſpoke of his parents with great reſpect and tenderneſs; and took notice of the great care his father had of his education; and particularly approved one part, which he often mentioned, of his father's conduct to him, being ſevere, and keeping him at a great diſtance, while he was a child; but, that, as ſoon as he grew up, becoming more familiar by degrees, they lived at laſt together with the eaſe and confidence of friends, where no ſubjection was required; inſomuch that his father excuſed

John Locke.

72
FEB

excuſed himſelf to him for having once ſtruck him while he was a child, rather out of paſſion than becauſe he deſerved it.

He was a gentleman of probity and œconomy, and poſſeſſed of a competent eſtate; which yet happened to be greatly impaired, when it came into the hands of this his eldeſt ſon, whom, at a proper age, he put to Weſtminſter-ſchool, where he remained till he was nineteen years of age, when he was removed to Oxford; and, being admitted of Chriſt-church, in 1651, became a ſtudent of that college, and diſtinguiſhed himſelf by an ingenious epigram upon Cromwell's peace with the Dutch in 1653.

By the terms of this treaty, the Dutch, at the ſame time that they ſtipulated not to admit king Charles II. or any other enemy to the commonwealth of England into their territories, had likewiſe yielded the right of the flag to the Engliſh,

So much of the hiſtory of this peace was neceſſary to let us ſee the full meaning of Mr. Locke's compliment in theſe verſes. They were judged worthy of a place in a collection preſented by that univerſity to the protector upon this occaſion; and being now not very commonly to be met with, may here juſtly be expected.

Pax regit Auguſti, quem vicit Julius, orbem,
Ille ſago factus clarior, ille toga.
Hos ſua Roma vocat magnos, & numina credit;
Hic quod ſit mundi victor, & ille quies;
Tu bellum & pacem populis das, unus utriſque
Major es, ipſe orbem vincis, et ipſe regis.
Non hominem e cælo miſſum te credimus? unus
Sic poteras binos qui ſuperare Deos.

Thus engliſhed by the ſame hand.

A peaceful ſway the great Auguſtus bore,
O'er what great Julius gain'd by arms before:
Julius was all with martial trophies crown'd,
Auguſtus for his peaceful arts renown'd.
Rome calls them great, and makes them deities,
This for his valour, that his policies.
You, mighty prince! than both, are greater far;
You rule in peace that world you gain'd by war.
You, Sir, from Heav'n, a finiſh'd hero fell,
Who thus alone two pagan god's excel.

The reader, I believe, will readily grant that neither the poetry, nor the verſification in theſe lines are by any means contemptible when he

he ſees them here ſeparated from thoſe of his fellow ſtudents, South and Buſby; in which company, it muſt be owned, they are ſhewn to a great diſadvantage by the editor of the collection now before me. But, whatever poetical talents he was endowed with, it is certain they lay greatly neglected. Some verſes which were wrote by him ſeveral years afterwards, and prefixed to Dr. Sydenham's Obſervationes Medicæ, are a convincing proof of this.

Having taken, at the regular times, both his degrees in arts, he put himſelf upon the phyſic line; to which profeſſion he applied himſelf with great diligence, and practiſed therein a little at Oxford; but finding his conſtitution not able to bear the fatigue of much buſineſs, he forbore to puſh it; and, being highly delighted with the philoſophy of Des Cartes, which then began to grow in vogue, he thence took a fancy to that ſtudy.

We have advanced this on the ſole authority of Le Clerc who very poſſibly might have it from our author's own mouth. The truth of the caſe ſeems to be as follows.

Mr. Locke, by having before his eyes frequent inſtances of the extravagant abuſe that was then made of the ſcholaſtic exerciſe of diſputing, had thence haſtily taken up an irreconcileable averſion to that method of diſciplining youth; which he indulged ſo far, that it begat in him ſomething like an antipathy to that

branch of Ariſtotle's philoſophy, as conſiſting, he thought, only of obſcure terms, and productive of nothing ſo much as uſeleſs and trifling queſtions. I venture to call it ſomething like an antipathy, ſince it appears to have its root in the natural frame of his temper, which was peeviſh and choleric, too delicate for logical conteſts.

We are told by one who knew him well, and is far from being ſuſpected in that place of deſigning any injury to his character, that he had ſuch an abhorrence to profeſſed diſputants, whoſe aim is to carry the victory by puzzling their antagoniſts with the ambiguity of words; that, whenever he had to deal with this ſort of people, if he did not before hand take a ſtrong reſolution of keeping his temper, he quickly fell into a paſſion.

This conſtitutional abhorrence grew, as is uſual, by degrees, into a ſettled and determined judgment. A remarkable proof of which is ſeen in the anſwer he gave to Mr. William Molyneux, who, with a view of introducing our author's Eſſay of Human Underſtanding into the univerſities, propoſed to him to caſt it into the form of the treatiſes of logic and metaphyſics read there.

"That which you propoſe," ſays he, "of turning my Eſſay into a body of logic and metaphyſics, accommodated to the uſual forms, though I thank you very kindly for it, and plainly

plainly ſee in it the care you take of the educa-tion of young ſcholars, which is a thing of no ſmall moment, yet, I fear, I ſhall ſcarce find time to do it. You have cut out other work for me more to my liking, and I think of more uſe. Beſides that, if they have in this book of mine what you think the matter of theſe two ſciences, or what you will call them; I like the method it is in better than that of the ſchools; where I think it is no ſmall prejudice to knowledge, that prædicaments, prædicables, &c. being univerſally, in all their ſyſtems, come to be looked on as neceſſary principles, or unqueſtionable parts of knowledge, juſt as they are ſet down there.

"If logic be the firſt thing to be taught young men after grammar, as is the uſual method, I think yet it ſhould be nothing but propoſition and ſyllogiſm. But that being in order to their diſputing exerciſes in the univerſity, perhaps I may think thoſe may be ſpared too, diſputing being but an ill, not to ſay the worſt, way to knowledge."

It ought to be obſerved, that the ſpirit of cenſuring this part of education in the univerſities had poſſeſſed others, near the time we are now ſpeaking of, as well as our author. Mr. Joſeph Glanville, for inſtance, ventured to rally the pedantry, as he calls it, and boyiſh humour of it, with a peculiar rankneſs of wit, calling it a bare formal ſcheme of empty, airy

notions, ſenſeleſs terms, and inſignificant words, fit only to make a noiſe, and furniſh matter of wrangling and contention; and declaring often, that his being trained up in that road was of the greateſt unhappineſſes that had ever befallen him.

In the room of Ariſtotle's philoſophy, he ſubſtituted ſeveral hypotheſes from Carteſius, then called the New Philoſophy. It had indeed been for ſome time univerſally taught in Holland, and at Geneva, and had captivated many others as well as Mr. Locke, with the charming variety and perſpicuity of the ſtile in which the founder had dreſſed it up, and which was univerſally admired, even by thoſe who did not approve all his notions. Neither did our author ſuffer himſelf to be miſled by theſe; but, on the contrary, by purſuing his own ideas, became himſelf, in one ſubject, as is well known, a maſter-builder entirely upon his own ſtock; and, if the ſpirit of building was firſt of all infuſed into him, as ſeems not improbable, from the ſpleen; yet he afterwards raiſed ſuch original works as will immortalize his name.

In 1664, he had an opportunity of going abroad, in quality of ſecretary to Sir William Swan, who was appointed envoy to the elector of Brandenburg, and ſome other German princes.

Our author returned the year following to Oxford, where he continued to improve his knowledge

knowledge in philoſophy and phyſic; and, particularly, in 1666, fell in with the ſcheme that had been lately ſet on foot by Dr. Plott, of keeping a regiſter of the air, in order to perfect the natural hiſtory of that moſt neceſſary article of what the phyſicians call the non-naturals.

He printed this at the end of a poſthumous piece of Mr. Robert Boyle's, intitled, A General Hiſtory of the Air, in 1692, 8vo.

Our author calls his paper, A Regiſter of the Changes of the Air obſerved at Oxford, by the Barometer, Thermometer, and Hygrometer, from June 23, 1660, to March 28, 1667.

He had indeed an inſtinctive cauſe for making this choice, in the particular infirmity of his own conſtitution, which was aſthmatic; and it is obſervable, that theſe hiſtories have been ſince made excellent uſe of, towards diſcovering the qualities of the air, by another gentleman, who laboured alſo under the like conſtitutional diſorder: but the correctneſs of this piece appears leſs marvellous when we conſider that our author had this ſtudy ſo much at heart, as to give it a preference to all other parts of natural philoſophy.

He was thus employed, when an accident brought him acquainted with lord Aſhley, afterwards earl of Shafteſbury. His lordſhip having an abſceſs in his breaſt, under his ſtomach, occaſioned by a fall, was adviſed to

drink the Aſtrop waters. In this deſign he wrote to a phyſician at Oxford, to procure ſome of theſe waters to be ready againſt his arrival. That phyſician being called away by other buſineſs, tranſferred his commiſſion to his friend Mr. Locke, who found himſelf obliged to wait upon his lordſhip the day after his arrival, to excuſe the diſappointment of not having the waters ready. Lord Aſhley, as his manner was, received him with great civility, declared himſelf much ſatisfied with his apology, and, being much pleaſed with his converſation, upon his riſing to take leave, detained him to ſupper, and engaged him to dinner the next day, and even to drink the waters, (Mr. Locke having expreſſed ſome deſign of doing it ſhortly) that he might have the more of his company.

From this beginning, that lord became our author's patron; took him into his houſe; ſoon after followed his advice in opening the abſceſs in his breaſt; would not ſuffer him to practiſe phyſic out of his own family, and and among ſome particular friends; introduced him to ſeveral lords of his acquaintance, who ſhewed him extraordinary reſpect? and urged him to direct his application chiefly to the ſubject of politics: all which was evidently calculated, by that moſt artful ſtateſman, exactly to hit the meridian of Mr. Locke's taſte and temper; and he proſecuted his newly-preſcribed ſtudy with ſo much ſucceſs, as to be very

very uſeful to his patron in his moſt daring deſigns.

Le Clerc tells us, that three or four of theſe lords who thus countenanced Mr. Locke, having met at lord Aſhley's, rather for amuſement than buſineſs, after ſome compliments, very little converſation had paſſed when the butler brought in the cards. Mr. Locke looked on for ſome time while they were at play, and then taking his pocket-book, began to write with great attention. One of the company obſerving this, aſked him what he was writing? "My lord," ſays he, "I am endeavouring to profit, as far as I am capable, in your company; for, having waited with impatience, for the honour of being in an aſſembly of the greateſt geniuſes of the age, and having at length obtained this good fortune, I thought I could not do better than write down your converſation; and indeed I have ſet down the ſubſtance of what has been ſaid for this hour or two."

He had no occaſion to read much of this dialogue, thoſe noble perſons ſaw the ridicule, and diverted themſelves with improving the jeſt; they preſently quitted their play, entered into a converſation more ſuitable to their characters, and ſpent the reſt of the day in that manner: which Mr. Le Clerc declares, whether it was ſuitable to his character or not, yet, that it furniſhes an illuſtrious proof of their politeneſs to him.

In

In 1668, he attended the counteſs of Northumberland into France; but an unforeſeen accident obliged him, after a ſhort ſtay there, to return to England; where he continued to reſide with lord Aſhley, who having, jointly with ſome other lords, obtained a grant of Carolina, our author was employed to draw up the fundamental conſtitutions of that province.

The Latitudinarian ſpirit of the two following articles in theſe conſtitutions gave great offence to the clergy at that time.

"Art. xcv. No man will be promoted to be a freeman of Carolina, or to have any vote or habitation within it, that doth not acknowledge a God, and that God to be publicly and ſolemnly worſhipped.

"Art. xcvii. Since the natives of that place, who will be concerned in our plantation, are utterly ſtrangers to Chriſtianity, whoſe idolatry, ignorance, or miſtakes, give us no right to expel, or uſe them ill; and thoſe who remove from other parts to plant there, will, unavoidably, be of different opinions concerning matters of religion, the liberty whereof they will expect to have allowed them; and it will not be reaſonable on this account to keep them out; that ſtill peace may be maintained amidſt the diverſity of opinions, and our agreement and compact with all men may be duly and faithfully obſerved; the breach whereof

whereof, upon what pretence ſoever, cannot be without great offence to Almighty God, and great ſcandal to the religion we profeſs; and alſo that Jews, Heathens, and other Diſſenters from the purity of the Chriſtian religion, may not be ſcared and kept at a diſtance from it; but, by having an opportunity to acquaint themſelves with the truth and reaſonableneſs of its doctrines, and the peacefulneſs and inoffenſiveneſs of its profeſſors, may, by good uſage and perſuaſion, and all thoſe convincing methods of gentleneſs and meekneſs, ſuitable to the rules and deſigns of the Goſpel, be won over to embrace and unfeignedly receive the truth. Therefore any ſeven or more perſons, agreeing in any religion, ſhall conſtitute a church or profeſſion, to which they ſhall give ſome name to diſtinguiſh it from others."

Thus this famous inſtrument ſtood in the original draught by our author. But ſome of the chief proprietors probably ſeeing the great ſcandal that would undoubtedly be given by putting, as is here done, not only all denominations of Chriſtians, but the wildeſt ſectaries and the fouleſt heretics, nay even Jews and Pagans, upon the ſame foot with true chriſtianity, and entitling all equally to the ſame privileges, without any reſpect had to the church of England, of which they profeſſed themſelves members, thought proper, between theſe two articles, to inſert the following.

Article

Article xcvi. "As the country comes to be ſufficiently planted and diſtributed into fit diviſions, it ſhall belong to the parliament to take care for the building of churches, and the public maintainance of the divines, to be employed in the exerciſe of religion, according to the church of England, which being the only true and orthodox, and the national religion of all the king's dominions, is ſo alſo of Carolina, and therefore it alone ſhall be allowed public maintainance by grant of parliament."

This article being introduced againſt Mr. Locke's judgment, as he expreſly declared, it is no wonder if from thence his affection to the church of England began much to be ſuſpected; and as this opinion was confirmed by ſeveral of his ſubſequent writings, he has been generally placed among the chiefs of the Latitudinarians.

Accordingly not very few years ago, we find Dr. Waterland ſeating him next to lord Herbert of Cherbury, at the head of Barbeyrac, Le Clerc, &c. and ſtretching ſuch principles even wider than thoſe his followers.

"But he, ſays that learned and orthodox divine, ſpeaking of Mr. Barbeyrac, refers us for explication of fundamentals to a noted treatiſe of Le Clerc's, at the end of Grotius de veritate religionis chriſtianæ, A. D. 1709. A Treatiſe ſo indefinite and looſe, that one ſcarce

ſcarce knows what it aims at; except it be, that nothing ſhould paſs for a fundamental, which has been ever diſputed by men calling themſelves chriſtians, and profeſſing ſcripture, however interpreted to be their rule. Which is judging of important truths, not by the word of God ſoberly underſtood, nor by catholic tradition, nor by the reaſon of things, but by the floating humours and fancies of men, as if all chriſtian doctrines were to be expunged out of the liſt of neceſſaries, which have had the misfortune to be diſputed amongſt us, and a ſhort creed was to be made out of the remainder. But what if others, with baron Herbert of Cherbury, or with the author of the fundamental conſtitutions of Carolina, building upon the ſame principles of latitude, and willing to compound all differences, ſhould adviſe us to admit nothing for a fundamental, but what all mankind have hitherto agreed in, and for the future ſhall agree in, Atheiſts only excepted; where will then at length theſe preſumptuous ſchemes end?

In 1670, and the following year, he began to form the plan of his Eſſay upon Human Underſtanding, but was hindered from making any great progreſs in that work by other employments, which were found for him by his patron, who in 1672, being raiſed to the poſt of lord chancellor, did not forget to let his faithful client ſhare in the fruits of his power, by appointing him ſecretary of the preſentations.

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This place he held as long as his maſter kept the great ſeal; but that being taken from him in November, the year following, our author, to whom the earl had communicated his moſt ſecret affairs, fell into diſgrace together with him; and afterwards contributed his mite to ſome pieces, which the earl procured to be publiſhed, with a view of exciting the nation to watch the Roman-Catholics, and to oppoſe the deſigns of that party. However, his lordſhip being ſtill preſident at the board of trade, Mr. Locke had been made, in June the ſame year, ſecretary to a commiſſion of that kind, an office which was worth five hundred pounds per annum as long as it laſted; but the commiſſion was diſſolved in the year 1674.

Our author had all this while kept poſſeſſion of his ſtudent's place at Chriſt-church, whither he uſed not frequently to reſort, as well for the conveniency of books, as alſo upon account of his health, the air of London not agreeing well with his conſtitution: and, having taken his degree of bachelor of phyſic on the ſixth of February this year, he went the following ſummer to Montpelier, being apprehenſive of a conſumption.

At the ſame time, however, he likewiſe kept up an acquaintance with ſeveral of the faculty, and what his reputation therein, may be known from the teſtimony that is given of it by the celebrated Dr. Sydenham, who in his book, intitled, Obſervationes Medicæ, circa

circa morborum acutorum hiſtoriam & curationem, printed in 1676, writes thus:

"You know likewiſe how much my method has been approved of by a perſon who has examined it to the bottom, and who is our common friend: I mean Mr. John Locke, who, if we conſider his genius, and penetrating and exact judgment, or the ſtrictneſs of his morals, has ſcarce any ſuperior, and few equals now living. Noſti preterea, &c.

This ſtep was not taken without the approbation and advice of his patron, to whom he had, juſt before his departure, been particularly ſerviceable in drawing up an extraordinary pamphlet, intitled, A Letter from a Perſon of Quality to his friend in the Country, giving an account of the debates and reſolutions in the Houſe of Lords, in April and May 1675, concerning a Bill, intituled, An Act to prevent the dangers which may ariſe from perſons diſaffected to the Government.

Our author, we are informed, drew up this letter at the deſire of the earl of Shaftesbury, and under his lordſhip's inſpection, only committing what the earl did in a manner dictate to him; and this indeed is evident, with regard to that part which contains remarks upon the characters and conduct of ſeveral of the nobility, ſince theſe could be known only to his lordſhip. But as this reaſon extends not

to

to other parts of the ſame letter, ſo neither is any doubt ſuggeſted by our author's apologiſt, that he did not heartily concur in the gibes, as Mr. Wood calls them, which are unſparingly thrown therein upon the ſpiritual lords; we ſhall mention one of theſe in the bill which goes by the name of the Teſt Act.

The miniſtry propoſed to make an addition to the corporation oath in theſe words, I will not at any time endeavour to make any alteration of the government either in church or ſtate. The author of the letter, ſpeaking of this addition, the deviſing whereof he charges principally upon the biſhops, declares in general of the clergy of all religions, that they have trucked away the rights and liberties of the people, in this and all other countries wherever they have had opportunity that they might be owned by the prince to be jure divino, and maintained in their pretenſions by the abſolute power and force they have contributed ſo much to put into his hands: and that prieſt and prince may, like Caſtor and Pollux, be worſhipped together as divine in the ſame temple by us poor lay-ſubjects, they actually aſſert that monarchy is jure divino. For a proof of the truth of this remark, the editor, in a note upon it, cites a paſſage from biſhop Uſher's Power of the Prince, and ſeveral others alſo from biſhop Sanderſon's preface to that Treatiſe, which ſeem indeed to be very agreeable to the mind of the Letter-

writer,

writer, and therefore in that view not improperly introduced; and that is declared by the annotator to be his ſole intention, leaving the juſtice of his author's cenſure to ſhift for itſelf, that ſo he might not be drawn into the controverſy.

Mr. Wood we ſee calls it a gibing upon the ſpiritual Lords; and ſo far is certain, that almoſt all the tribe of writers who have affected to give us a caſt of their wit upon orthodoxy, have acknowledged this Letter-writer for their maſter, in copying not only his matter but his manner and expreſſion, not even diſdaining to borrow his very words.

As to the two divines quoted by Mr. Des Maizeauz, not to inſiſt in their behalf on the ſeaſonableneſs and prudence of preſſing the doctrine of non-reſiſtance abſolutely, at the times when the forementioned treatiſe was wrote by one, and publiſhed by the other; the firſt being apparently moved by the ſad proſpect of miſery with which the nation was threatened, from the oppoſite extreme at the breaking out of the rebellion; and the ſecond ſtill more moved with the actual feeling of that miſery from which the nation was then ſcarcely well recovered.

To paſs by, I ſay, theſe and ſuch like topics, which candour prompts in their defence, it is obſervable, that if we hearken to the author of the letter in queſtion, we ſhall be obliged to confeſs, that nothing but theſe could

could be the true motive both of writing and publiſhing that book, ſince it follows from his own argument, compared with other parts of their own writing and publiſhing that book, ſince it follows from his own argument, compared with other parts of their writings, that they knew as well as he, that their monarch was no ſuch divinity as he charges them with aſſerting.

Thus far our letter-writer we ſee declares, that epiſcopacy was founded by the clergy upon the jure divino equally with monarchy; but it is well known, that both theſe biſhops expreſly maintained, that epiſcopacy, as maintained in the church of England, was not jure divino; whence it neceſſarily follows, from this way of reaſoning, that monarchy alſo, as eſtabliſhed in the ſtate of England, was equally maintained by them not to be jure divino.

'Tis not the deſign of this remark to take any ſide in a dipute which has now been long worn out, much leſs to defend the doctrine of abſolute non-reſiſtance from thoſe abſurdities which inſeparably attend it in all ages. But our buſineſs is to repreſent every fact that comes in the courſe of theſe memoirs impartially as we find it, after the beſt inquiry which we are able to make, and in the preſent inſtance, if the fact is found to turn out in favour of the two mentioned biſhops, that diſdain which appears in relating it, may be thought not

not improper in the view of teſtifying a real hearty concern for the cauſe of truth in general, on what ſide ſoever it ſtands.

At Montpelier, our author fell into the acquaintance of Mr. Thomas Herbert, afterwards earl of Pembroke, to whom he communicated his deſign of writing his Eſſay on Human underſtanding, which now chiefly employed his thoughts. From Montpelier he went to Paris, where he contracted a friendſhip with Mr. Juſtel, at whoſe houſe he then ſaw Mr. Guenelon, a celebrated phyſician at Amſterdam, who held anotomical conferences there with great reputation.

It was now alſo, that the familiarity commenced betwixt him and Mr. Toignard, by whom he was favoured with a copy of his Harmony of the Goſpels, when there were no more than five or ſix of them complete. Upon the diſcovery of the Popiſh plot, the earl of Shafteſbury was again taken into favour at court, and made preſident of a new council, erected by his majeſty in 1679.

This new turn occaſioned him to ſend for Mr. Locke; but his lordſhip happening to be laid aſide again in leſs than half a year, had no opportunity of ſerving him in that poſt. Notwithſtanding this, our author continued unalterably attached to his patron in all the traverſes of his fortune; and, in 1682, when that nobleman eſcaped a proſecution for high-treaſon, by flying into Holland, Mr. Locke followed

followed him thither, and conveyed away with him ſeveral letters and writings without being ſearched; Mr. Le Clerc alſo informs us, that Mr. Locke gave his aſſiſtance in ſome pieces publiſhed by the earl of Shafteſbury after his diſgrace, and after the earl's flight, did not think himſelf ſafe in England; and we ſhall ſee in the next remark his conduct had for ſome time before been ſtrictly watched by Dean Fell; neither upon the death of his patron, which happened ſoon after, did he think proper to return home, where he knew his conduct had created him ſome powerful enemies.

He had not been a year in Holland, when he was accuſed at the Engliſh court of having written certain tracts againſt the government; and though another perſon was afterwards diſcovered to be the author, yet being obſerved to join in company with ſeveral Engliſh male-contents at the Hague, this conduct was communicated to our reſident there to the earl of Sunderland, then ſecretary of ſtate; who acquainting the king therewith, his majeſty ordered the proper methods to be taken for expelling him from the college, and application to be made for that purpoſe to biſhop Fell the dean; In obedience to this command the neceſſary information was given by his lordſhip, who at the ſame time wrote to our author, to appear and anſwer for himſelf, on the firſt of January enſuing; but, immediately receiving

receiving an expreſs command to turn him out, was obliged to comply therewith, and accordingly Mr. Locke was removed from his ſtudent's place on the ſixteenth of November, 1684.

As this affair has been differently repreſented, even by authors of repute, we ſhall lay before the reader the fact, as it appears from the ſeveral letters wrote on the occaſion; The firſt, from Sunderland to the biſhop, runs thus;

Whitehall, November 6, 1684.

"The king having been given to underſtand, that one Locke, who belonged to the late earl of Shafteſbury, and has, upon ſeveral occaſions behaved himſelf very factiouſly againſt the government, is a ſtudent of Chriſt-church; his majeſty commands me to ſignify to your lordſhip, that he would have him removed from being a ſtudent; and that, in order thereunto, your lordſhip would let him know the method of doing it, &c."

To this the biſhop anſwered in theſe terms, November 8.

"Mr. Locke being a great friend of the late earl of Shafteſbury, and being ſuſpected not to be well affected to the government, I have had my eye over him for ſeveral years;

but he has always been ſo much upon his guard, that after ſeveral ſtrict enquiries, I can confidently aſſure you, there is no perſon in our college, how familiar ſoever with him, that has heard him ſay any thing againſt the government, or that any ways concerns it. And, though we have often deſignedly given him occaſion, in public and private diſcourſe, to talk of the earl of Shafteſbury, by ſpeaking ill of him, his party, and deſigns; yet we could never ſee, either by his words or looks, that he thought himſelf at all concerned in the matter: ſo that we believe there is not a man in the world ſo much maſter of his tongue and paſſions as he is *.

"He has a phyſic place here which frees him from the exerciſe of the college, and the obligation which others have to reſidence in it; and he is now abroad for want of health: but, notwithſtanding this, I have ſummoned him to return home; which is done with this proſpect, that, if he comes not back, he will be liable to expulſion for contumacy; and, if he does, he will be anſwerable to the law for that which he ſhall be found to have done amiſs; it being probable, that, though he may have been thus cautious here, where he knew him-

* Le Clerc obſerves, that this command of his temper was the more extraordinary, as Mr. Locke was by nature a little haſty; but that he perceived their deſign to trepan him.

ſelf

ſelf ſuſpected, he has laid himſelf more open at London, where a general liberty of ſpeaking was uſed, and where the execrable deſigns againſt his majeſty and his government were managed and purſued.

" If he don't return by the firſt of January, which is the time limited to him, I ſhall be enabled, of courſe, to proceed againſt him to expulſion: but, if this method ſeems not effectual, or ſpeedy enough, and his majeſty, our founder and viſitor, ſhall pleaſe to command his immediate remove, upon the receipt thereof, directed to the dean and chapter, it ſhall accordingly be executed by,

" Your lordſhip's," &c.

To this the following was received, dated November 12, incloſed in a letter from the ſecretary, and addreſſed to the dean and chapter.

" WHEREAS we have received information of the factious and diſloyal behaviour of Locke, one of the ſtudents of that our college, we have thought fit hereby to ſignify our will and pleaſure to you, that you forthwith remove him from his ſtudent's place, and deprive him of all rights and advantages thereunto belonging; for which this ſhall be your warrant. And ſo we bid you heartily farewell.

"Given at our court of Whitehall, the 11th of November, 1684.

"By his majeſty's command,

"SUNDERLAND."

The biſhop anſwered thus,

November 16.

"Right honourable,

"I hold myſelf bound to ſignify to your lordſhip, that his majeſty's command for the expulſion of Mr. Locke from this college is fully executed."

Upon theſe letters, Le Clerc obſerves, that the biſhop, in what he wrote, without doubt, deſigned to ſerve Mr. Locke, for whom he had always a reſpect and kindneſs, as appears from his immediately, on the receipt of the firſt letter, ſending for Mr. Tyrrel, who was Mr. Locke's friend, to ſpeak with him about it. On the other hand, a late writer cites the letters, as an evident proof, that the biſhop was capable of ſome exceſſes, in ſome caſes, where the intereſt of party could biaſs him.

The letters, as here ſeen, need no comment to clear his conduct from both theſe miſrepreſentations; and ſufficiently ſhews the miſtake of Le Clerc, on the one hand, who, willing to have the virtuous and learned dean, as he ſtiles him, for his friend's patron, tells us, he

was

was convinced of Mr. Locke's innocence; and the no leſs miſtake, on the other hand, of Dr. Birch, who calls this, his, the dean's, expulſion of Mr. Locke.

Upon the acceſſion of king James II. to the throne, Sir William Pen, the famous Quaker, procured the promiſe of a pardon for our author, whom he had known at Chriſt-Church; but his fellow-collegian declined the acceptance of that offer, alledging, that he had no occaſion for a pardon, not being guilty of any crime.

In May, 1685, the Engliſh envoy at the Hague demanded him to be delivered up by the ſtates-general, upon ſuſpicion of his having been concerned in the duke of Monmouth's invaſion. This obliged him to lie concealed near twelve months, till it became ſufficiently known, that he had no hand in that enterprize.

During this privacy, which, by the aſſiſtance of ſome friends, was rendered very ſecure from any danger of adiſcovery, he compoſed his firſt letter upon Toleration; which being tranſlated from the Latin original into Engliſh and Dutch, and twice printed at London, in 1690, was attacked the ſame year by Mr. Jonas Proaſt, chaplain of All-ſouls College, Oxford, in a piece, intituled, The Argument of the Letter concerning Toleration briefly conſidered and anſwered. Oxford, 1690, 4to.

He rejoined, in A Third Letter for Toleration, in 1692, containing three hundred and

fifty pages in quarto. This letter is dated on the twenty-ninth of June. In it he declares his opinion concerning the miracles of the primitive church as follows.

"And so I leave you," says he to his antagonist, "to dispute the credit of ecclesiastical writers as you shall think fit; and by your authority to establish and invalidate theirs as you please. But this I think is evident, that he who will build his faith or reasonings upon miracles delivered by church historians, will find cause to go no farther than the apostles times, or else not stop at Constantine's; since the writers after that period, whose word we take as unquestionable in other things, speak of miracles in their time with no less assurance than the fathers before the fourth century; and a great part of the miracles of the second and third centuries stand upon the credit of the writers of the fourth: so that sort of argument, which takes and rejects the testimony of the ancients at pleasure as it may best suit with it, will not have much force with those who are not disposed to embrace the hypothesis without any arguments at all."

We find the following passage inserted in the Preface to An Enquiry into the Miraculous Powers, &c. printed in 1648, in 4to. by Dr. Conyers Middleton, who there gives this eulogium of our author.

"It

"It was an unexpected ſatisfaction to me," ſays the doctor, "to be informed lately by a friend, That Mr. Locke had many years ago declared the ſame opinion with mine concerning the miracles of the primitive church; which I ſhall offer the reader in his own words, being perſuaded that the authority of ſo eminent a writer, and ſo ſingularly qualified by his talents and ſtudies to diſcern the exact relations and conſequences of things, will add great weight and confirmation to the cauſe which I am here defending."

Le Clerc had once deſigned to tranſlate the ſecond and third letters into French, but forbore it; being, as he ſays, of opinion, that the firſt, which he had before tranſlated into that language, was ſufficient to inform us of Mr. Locke's ſentiments. This is ſo very true, that it is in the firſt alone that his real ſentiments are to be found; and not at all in the two ſubſequent ones, as is ſuggeſted by Mr. Warburton, who, ſpeaking in defence of aſſuming a perſonal character on proper occaſions, ſays,

"When the diſpute is above the practical obligation of ſome truth, to the good of a particular ſociety, there it is fair to take up a ſuitable character, and argue ad hominem, for there the end is a benefit to be gained for that ſociety: and it is not of ſo great moment,

what principles the multitude is prevailed with to make the ſociety happy, as it is that it ſhould ſpeedily become ſo. A famous example," continues he, "will illuſtrate this obſervation. Our great Britiſh philoſopher, writing for religious liberty, combats his intolerant adverſary quite through the controverſy, with his own principles; well foreſeeing, that, at ſuch a time of prejudice, arguments built on received opinions would have greateſt weight, and make quickeſt impreſſions on the body of the people, whom it was his buſineſs to gain."

Whether Mr. Locke was indeed bleſſed with ſuch a foreſight, in this caſe, as is here aſcribed to him, we need not determine; but his apologiſt, however, does him the juſtice to acknowledge, that he obſerved a contrary, plain, and direct conduct in managing his diſpute with Dr. Stillinfleet.

But he ſpent the chief part of his time in this retirement by finiſhing his Eſſay upon Human Underſtanding; and ſometimes amuſed himſelf with making extracts of books to be inſerted in the Bibliotheque Univerſelle.

Towards the latter end of the year 1686, he appeared again in public, and, in the following year, he formed a weekly aſſembly at Amſterdam, with meſſieurs Limborch and Le Clerc, who were joined by ſome others, in the view of holding conferences upon ſubjects of learning.

Theſe

Theſe two divines were among our author's firſt friends in Holland, and he held a correſpondence with both of them till the day of his death; not long after which there came out ſeveral letters that had paſſed between him and the former, whereby it appears, that Mr. Limborch was very ſerviceable to our author, as well with reſpect to ſome improvements in his Eſſay on Human Underſtanding, as to his Reaſonableneſs of Chriſtianity; and, on the other hand, theſe favours were repaid by Mr. Locke in procuring him archbiſhop Tillotſon's aſſiſtance in his hiſtory of the inquiſition, which was afterwards dedicated by that author to his grace. As to Mr. Le Clerc, the dedication of his Ontologia to our author, ſhews the profound eſteem he had for him; and ſoon after came out the cauſes of incredulity.

About the end of this year, he finiſhed the forementioned Eſſay, after having ſpent more than nine years upon it. At the ſame time he alſo made an abridgement of that work in Engliſh.

It is a little remarkable, that Sir Iſaac Newton's Principia was finiſhed about the ſame time with Mr. Locke's Eſſay; both the works introduced a new and the only true way of philoſophiſing grounded upon experience and obſervation, and both effectually overthrowing the philoſophy of Des Cartes, one with regard to the great ſyſtem of the world, and the other in the ſyſtem of man.

As the natural hiſtory of human underſtanding was handled in a manner entirely new, wherein nothing was advanced but upon obſervation and experience, and the whole thrown into a method quite different from that of the ſchools, and recommended by an eaſy and handſome ſtile, it preſently gained many admirers.

However, among the crowd of thoſe which the eſſay met with, there were found ſome perſons who could not digeſt ſeveral notions ſtarted in it; and among theſe, was Dr. William Sherlock, maſter of the Temple, who attacked it in a Digreſſion concerning Connate Ideas, in the third ſection of the ſecond chapter of his Diſcourſe concerning the Happineſs of Good Men, and Puniſhment of the Wicked in the next World, 1704, 8vo. But of all thoſe who made their appearance in our author's life-time, he took no public notice, and in the mean time, did not ſpare to make himſelf merry at their expence among his intimates.

As the turn of his wit and rallery on theſe occaſions makes a part of the character of his genius, we ſhall inſert the following ſpecimen. Mr. Collins having ſent him ſome extracts from Dr. Sherlocks book, he returned this anſwer,

"The ſamples you have given me, I muſt acknowledge, from the abilities of the author

author, to be very excellent. But what ſhall I be the better for the moſt exact and beſt proportioned picture that ever was drawn, if I have not eyes to ſee the correſpondence of the parts. I confeſs the lines are too ſubtle for me, and my faculties cannot perceive their connection. I am not envious, and therefore ſhall not be trouble, if others ſhall find themſelves inſtructed in ſo extraordinary and ſublime a way of reaſoning. I am content with my own mediocrity; and, tho' I call the thinking faculty in me mind, yet I cannot, becauſe of that name, call in any thing of that infinite and incomprehenſible being, which, for want of right and diſtinct conceptions, is called God, alſo on the eternal mind. I endeavour to make the beſt uſe I can of every thing, and therefore, though I am in deſpair to be the wiſer for this learned inſtructor, yet I hope I ſhall be the merrier for them, when I take the air in the calaſh together."

We ſee our author was not defective in this ingredient of happineſs, and no doubt he died in perfect good humour with himſelf, as to the deſign and uſefulneſs of his Eſſay. But it may be doubted, whether this ſerenity might not have been ruffled, had he lived to ſee that monument of his fame attacked with much keener weapons, and by a perſon of much nearer concern to him than was the dean of St. Paul's. I believe the reader is before-hand

with me in pointing out the man, and fixing upon the earl of Shaftesbury.

That noble author, in some directions which he gave to a young student at Oxford, designed for the church, having observed that Dr. Tindal's principles, whatever they may be as to church government, are, in respect of philosophy and Theology, far wide from those of the author of the raphsody, proceeds thus;

"In general, truly, it has happened, that all those they call free-writers now a-days have espoused those principles, which Mr. Hobbes set on foot in the last age. Mr. Locke, as much as I honour him on account of his other writings, viz. on government, policy, trade, coin, education, toleration, &c. and, as well as I knew him *, and can answer for his sincerity as a most zealous Christian believer, did, however, go in the self same track, and is followed by the Tindals, and all the other ingenious free authors of our time. It was Mr. Locke that struck the home blow; for Mr. Hobbes's character, and base slavish principles in government, took off the point of his philosophy. It was Mr. Locke that struck at all fundamentals, threw all order out of the world, and made the very ideas of these, which are the very same as those of God, un-

* Our author had a share in the education of this noble man, who was grandson to his patron.

natural

natural and without foundation in our minds. Innate is a word he poorly plays upon. The right word, though leſs uſed, is connatural. For what has birth, or progreſs of the fœtus out of the womb, to do in this caſe? The queſtion is not about the time the ideas entered, or the moment that one body came out of the other, but whether the conſtitution of men be ſuch, that, being adult and grown up, at ſuch and ſuch a time, ſooner or later, no matter when, the idea and ſenſe of order, adminiſtration, and a God, will not infallibly, unavoidably, neceſſarily, ſpring up in them. Then comes the credulous Mr. Locke, with his Indian Barbarian ſtories, of wild nations that have no ſuch idea, as travellers, learned authors, and men of truth, and great philoſophers, have informed him: not conſidering, that this is but a negative upon a hear-ſay, and ſo circumſtantiated, that the faith of the Indian denier may be as well queſtioned, as the veracity or judgment of the relater, who cannot be ſuppoſed to know ſufficiently the myſteries and ſecrets of theſe Barbarians, whoſe language they but imperfectly know, and to whom we good Chriſtians have, by our little mercy, given ſufficient reaſon to conceal from us, as we know particularly in reſpect to ſimples and vegetables; of which, though we got the Peruvian bark, and ſome other noble remedies, yet it is certain, that, through the cruelty of the Spaniards, as they have owned themſelves, many ſecrets in medicinal affairs have

have been ſuppreſſed. But Mr. Locke, who had more faith, and was more learned in modern wonder-writers than ancient philoſophy, gave up an argument for the deity, which Cicero, though a profeſſed ſceptic, would not explode, and which even the chief of the atheiſtic philoſophers anciently acknowledged, and ſolved only by their primus in orbe Deos fecit timor. Thus virtue, according to Mr. Locke, has no other meaſure, law, or rule, than faſhion and cuſtom; morality, juſtice, equity, depend only on law and will; and God, indeed, is a perfect free agent in his ſenſe, that is, free to any thing that is however ill; for, if he wills it, it will be made good, virtue may be vice and vice virtue in its turn, if he pleaſes; and thus neither virtue nor vice, right nor wrong, are any thing in themſelves; nor is there any trace or idea of them naturally imprinted on human minds. Experience and our catechiſm teach us all. I ſuppoſe, 'tis ſomething of like kind which teaches birds their neſts, and how to fly the minute they have full feathers. Your Theocles, whom you commend ſo much, laughs at this; and, as modeſtly as he can, aſks a Lockeiſt, whether the idea of woman (and what is ſought after in woman) be not taught alſo by ſome catechiſm, and dictated to the man. Perhaps, if we had no ſchools of Venus, nor ſuch horrid lewd books or lewd companions, we might have no underſtanding of this, 'till we were taught by our parents; and if the tradition

ſhould

ſhould happen to be loſt, the race of mankind might periſh in a ſober nation.—This is very poor philoſophy; but the gibberiſh of the ſchools for theſe ſeveral centuries has, in theſe latter days of liberty, made any contrary philoſophy of good reliſh, and highly ſavoury with all men of wit, ſuch as have been emancipated from that egregious form of intellectual bondage."

Thus did this ſpirited author let fly ſome of his moſt pointed rallery, againſt our oppoſer of innate ideas; nor was this the only time that he entertained himſelf with making Mr. Locke's Eſſay the ſubject of his ridicule. 'Tis true, our author had then been many years in his grave; but his fame was ſtill alive and flouriſhing, and his memory found a champion, who, many years alſo after his lordſhip was in that place of profound ſilence, having obſerved that Mr. Locke had ſome ſhare in his education, was not afraid to rebuke him under the character of Mr. Locke's pupil, in the following very groſs terms.

"The ſpite he bore his maſter is inconceivable. He did not diſdain to take up with thoſe vulgar calumnies that Mr. Locke had again and again confuted. Some even of our moſt admired philoſophers had fairly told us, that virtue and vice had, after all, no other law or meaſure than meer faſhion and vogue. The caſe is this; when Mr. Locke reaſons againſt

againſt innate ideas, he brings it as an argument againſt them, that virtue and vice in many places were not regulated by the nature of things, which they muſt have been, were there ſuch innate ideas, but by meer faſhion and vogue. Is this, then, fairly told of our admired modern philoſopher? But it was crime enough, that he laboured to overthrow innate ideas, things that the noble author underſtood to be the foundation of his moral ſenſe. In vain did Mr. Locke inceſſantly repeat, that the divine Law is the only true touch ſtone of moral rectitude; this did but increaſe his pupil's reſentment, who had all his faculties ſo poſſeſſed with the moral ſenſe, as the only true touch-ſtone of moral rectitude, that, like the knights-errant of old, he ſtood up challenger againſt all oppoſers for the ſuperior charms of his idol. But the whole Eſſay itſelf, one of the nobleſt, the uſefulleſt, the moſt original, books the world ever ſaw, cannot eſcape his ridicule. In reality, ſays he, how ſpecious a ſtudy, how ſolemn an amuſement, is raiſed from what we call philoſophical ſpeculation! The formation of ideas, their compoſitions, compariſons, agreement, and diſagreement! Why do I concern myſelf in ſpeculations about my ideas? What is it to me, for inſtance, to know what kind of idea I can form of ſpace, divide a ſolid body, &c.? And ſo he goes on in Mr. Locke's own words; and, leſt the reader ſhould not take the ſtory, a note at the bottom of the page informs us, that

that theſe are the words of the particular author cited.——But the invidious remark in this quotation ſurpaſſes all credit.——Thus the Antomiſt or Epicurean. The Freethinkers after this can never ſure upbraid us with our ſlippancy, in giving the titles of Deiſt and Atheiſt to thoſe we do'nt like, when the very hero of their cauſe is taken in the fact."

In 1689, he publiſhed in Latin his firſt letter concerning Toleration; and, in February the ſame year, he returned to England in the fleet which convoyed the princeſs of Orange to her conſort. Not long after his arrival, he put in a claim to his ſtudent's place at Chriſt-church, but that ſociety rejected his pretenſions, as the proceedings in his deprivation were conformable to their ſtatutes.

However, he had an offer of being admitted a ſupernumary ſtudent, which he did not think proper to accept. As he was looked upon to be a ſufferer for the principles of the revolution, he might eaſily have obtained a very conſiderable poſt; but he contented himſelf with that of commiſſioner of Appeals, worth about two hundred pounds a year, which was procured for him by the lord Mordaunt, afterwards earl of Monmouth, and then of Peterborough.

About the ſame time he was offered to go abroad in a public character; and it was left

to

to his choice, whether he would be envoy at the court of the emperor, that of the elector of Brandenburgh, or any other, where he thought the air moſt ſuitable to him; but he waved all theſe on account of the ill ſtate of his health, which diſpoſed him gladly to accept another offer that was made him by Sir Francis Maſham and his lady, of an apartment in their country-ſeat, at Oates, in Eſſex. This ſituation proved, in all reſpects, ſo agreeable to him, that he ſpent a great part of the remainder of his life at it.

In 1690, he publiſhed Two Treatiſes of Civil Government, in defence of the revolutoin; the whole title of which runs thus: Two Treatiſes of Government,

In the Former, the Falſe Principles and foundation of Sir Robert Filmer and his followers are detected and overthrown. The Latter, is an Eſſay concerning the true original Extent and End of Civil Government.—In the Preface, our author tells us,

"This was only the beginning and end of a diſcourſe concerning government; what fate has otherwiſe diſpoſed the papers that ſhould have filled up the middle, and were," ſays he, "more than all the reſt, is not worth while to tell thee. If theſe papers have that evidence I flatter myſelf is to be found in them, there will be no great miſs of thoſe which are loſt; and my reader may be ſatisfied without them:

them: for, I imagine, I ſhall have neither time nor inclination to repeat my pains, and fill up the wanting part of my anſwer, by tracing Sir Robert Filmer again through all the windings and obſcurities which are to be met with in the ſeveral branches of his wonderful ſyſtem."

The ſame year came out alſo his Eſſay on Human Underſtanding, in folio; nor was the year expired, when he ſent his Letter to Edward Chipley, eſq. upon the ſubject of Education. This piece was not printed till 1693, when it came out under the title of Some Thoughts concerning Education, in a Letter, &c. in 8vo.

Our author wrote the ſubſtance of it many years before, in Holland. Mr. Molyneux, in a letter, dated March 2, 1692, having mentioned his promiſe of publiſhing it, together with the particular joy that promiſe had given him, on account of the education of his own ſon, proceeds thus:

"My brother (Dr. Molyneux) has ſometimes told me, that, whilſt he had the happineſs of your acquaintance at Leyden," which was ſeven or eight years before, "you were upon ſuch a work as this I deſire: and that too, at the requeſt of a tender father for the uſe of his only ſon."

To this Mr. Locke anſwers,

"That

"That which your brother tells you is not wholly beſides the matter; the main of what I now publiſh, is but what is contained in ſeveral letters to a friend of mine, the greateſt part whereof were writ out of Holland."

He printed a third edition, with additions, in 1698. It came out likewiſe after our author's death, with a great many more additions. Mr. Peter Coſte, who had tranſlated the piece into French, and publiſhed it with this title, De l'Education des Enfans, Amſterdam, 1695, 12mo. afterwards reviſed his tranſlation, and, inſerting the poſthumous additions, together with a conſiderable number of paſſages added by himſelf from Montaigne, by way of explanation of Mr. Locke's ſentiments, publiſhed the whole at Amſterdam in 1721, 8vo.

Another edition from that of Amſterdam had been printed at Paris, in 1708, and a tranſlation of this book into Low-Dutch was alſo printed at Rotterdam, in 1698, 8vo.

Our author appears to have the ſucceſs of his method much at heart, and had a great opinion of it: which he expreſſes to his friend Mr. Molyneux in the following manner.

"I am extremely glad to hear, that you have found any good effects of my method on your ſon. I ſhould be glad to hear the particulars; for, though I have ſeen the ſucceſs of it,

it, in the child of the lady in whoſe houſe I am, whoſe mother has taught him Latin, without knowing it herſelf when ſhe began, yet I would be glad to have other inſtances; becauſe ſome men, who cannot endure any thing ſhould be mended in the world by a new method, object, I hear, that my way of education is unpracticable. But this I can aſſure you, that the child above-mentioned, but nine years old in June laſt, is now reading Quintus Curtius with his mother; underſtands geography and chronology very well, and the Copernican ſyſtem of our vortex; is able to multiply well, and divide a little; and all this without ever having had one blow for his book."

We ſee here his method had been, from its appearance, objected to as unpracticable, nor has any ſubſequent experience cleared it from the ſame cenſure.

As the ill ſtate of the ſilver coin employed every body's thoughts at this time, and indeed was become a national concern of the laſt importance, our author appeared in this public cauſe; and, in 1691, printed Some Conſiderations of the Conſequences of lowering of Intereſt, and raiſing the Value of the Money, in a Letter ſent to a Member of Parliament.

This being taken notice of by the miniſtry, when that affair began to grow ripe for execution, in 1695, he was conſulted upon the occaſion;

caſion; when he ſtarted an expedient for ſupplying the neceſſities of commerce, and the exigencies of the people during the recoinage; which was approved and recommended by the lord Somers. Hereupon king William obſerving him to be very capable of ſerving the public, appointed him that year one of the commiſſioners of trade and plantations. By this means he became engaged in the immediate ſervice of the ſtate; and, with regard to that of the church, in order to promote the ſcheme which his majeſty had much at heart, of a comprehenſion with the Diſſenters, he publiſhed, the ſame year, his Treatiſe, intituled, The Reaſonableneſs of Chriſtianity, as delivered in the Scriptures.

This piece was likewiſe tranſlated into French by Mr. Coſte, and the two Vindications alſo, which were printed at Amſterdam, in 1703, in 8vo. The whole was reprinted there in 1715, in two volumes, 12mo.

In this edition, a great many repetitions, which are frequent in our author's ſtile, are retrenched by the tranſlator, who has alſo added two diſſertations by another hand; one concerning, The true and only Means of reuniting all Chriſtians, notwithſtanding their Differences in Opinion; and the other, concerning The Religion of a Lady.

What reception this piece met with at its firſt appearance, our author himſelf will inform us, in a Letter to Mr. Limborch; where he acquaints

acquaints that divine, that the clergy of all parties were offended with it. "Theologis noſtris tam conformiſtis quam nonconformiſtis diſplicere audio." His profeſſed deſign extends no farther, than to convert the Deiſts to Chriſtianity, by ſhewing them, that, in order to become Chriſtians, nothing more was neceſſary, than to believe Jeſus to be the Meſſias: but, as he acknowledges that this deſign unavoidably led him to conſider ſeveral other points, as, particularly, the doctrine of original ſin, and the mediatorial office of Chriſt; ſo, in explaining theſe, he expreſſed himſelf in ſuch a manner, as brought him into the ſuſpicion of Socinianiſm; which, even Mr. Limborch, and other friends of our author in Holland, confeſſed, in effect, he had given too much reaſon for it.

But this doctrine of our author's had likewiſe its abettors; among whom was Mr. Samuel Bold, rector of Steeple, in Dorſetſhire; who, in 1697, publiſhed a piece, in 8vo, intituled, The Knowledge of Chriſt Jeſus. To which are added, Some Paſſages in the Reaſonableneſs of Chriſtianity, and its Vindication; with ſome Animadverſions on Mr. Edwards's Reflections on the Reaſonableneſs of Chriſtianity; and on his book intituled, Socinianiſm Unmaſked.

This writer having intimated our author's deſign to unite all Chriſtians into one compact body, recommends it in the warmeſt terms,

not

not without paſſing a ſevere cenſure upon all its oppoſers.

"In ſhort," ſays he, "if the Reaſonableneſs of Chriſtianity, as delivered in the Scriptures, doth merit no worſe a character on any other account, than it doth juſtly deſerve becauſe it advanceth and ſo fully proveth this point, that Chriſt and his apoſtles did not propound any article as neceſſary to be believed, to make a man a Chriſtian, but this, That Jeſus is the Chriſt, or Meſſias; I think it may be reputed one of the beſt books that hath been publiſhed for at leaſt ſixteen hundred years."

This book, however, being attacked, in 1696, as we have already hinted, by Mr. Edwards, in his Socinian Unmaſked, Mr. Locke wrote two Vindications of his doctrine againſt that author's charge the ſame year; and was ſcarcely diſengaged from this controverſy before he entered into another on the following occaſion.

Mr. Toland, in his Chriſtianity not myſterious, and ſeveral treatiſes being publiſhed at the ſame time by the Unitarians, maintaining, that there was nothing in the Chriſtian religion but what was clearly intelligible, Dr. Stillingfleet, in 1697, publiſhed A Defence of the Doctrine of the Trinity; wherein he cenſured ſome paſſages in the juſt mentioned Eſſay

as

as tending to ſubvert the fundamental articles of Chriſtianity. An anſwer to this charge was immediately wrote by our author; to which the biſhop replied; and the controverſy was carried on the following year, 1698, when it ended by the death of the latter.

This diſpute conſiſts of five letters, two by the biſhop and three by our author. In the laſt of which, beſides other incident matters, he explains at large his ſentiments concerning certainty by reaſon, certainty by ideas, and certainty of faith; the reſurrection of the ſame body, and the immortality of the ſoul; ſhews the conſiſtency of his opinion in theſe points with the articles of faith; and clears himſelf from the charge of ſcepticiſm.

Mr. Des Maizeaux, from whom we borrow this, obſerves that Mr. Locke was generally allowed to have had the better of the biſhop in the diſpute, who had not conſidered theſe points ſo thoroughly as his antagoniſt. However that be, 'tis certain, that an abſtract of this diſpute being publiſhed in the Nouvelles de la Republique des Lettres, it came thereby to Mr. Bayle, who ſoon after expreſſed himſelf of the ſame opinion, that is, as to the arguments produced by each in proof of the points in diſpute; but this muſt be carefully diſtinguiſhed from the real truth of thoſe points, with regard to ſome of theſe, at leaſt, for inſtance, the immortality of the ſoul. In the explanation of which, Mr. Locke had

aſſerted the poſſibility of matters thinking, and at the ſame time allowed the incomprehenſibility of it.

Mr. Bayle having made his own uſe of that conceſſion, proceeds to obſerve, that the queſtion, Whether the ſoul of man is diſtinct from matter? makes a part of the famous diſpute between Dr. Stillingfleet and Mr. Locke. The firſt maintained, that matter is incapable of thought, and thereby became the defender of a fundamental article of philoſophical orthodoxy. He made uſe of this argument among others, that we cannot conceive how matter can think. Mr. Locke admits this principle to be true, and contents himſelf with denying the conſequence; for he aſſerts, that God can do things which are incomprehenſible to human underſtanding. He then proceeds to give our author's reaſoning upon this principle, and proceeds thus.

Here is a formal confeſſion of the incomprehenſibility of the thing, and a recourſe to the extent of God's power with regard to effects which are beyond the limits of our underſtanding.

It is much after the ſame manner, continues he, ridiculing the argument, that the ſchoolmen ſuppoſe there is in creatures an obediential power, by which God might raiſe them, if he pleaſed, to any ſtate whatever: a ſtone might become capable of the beatific viſion, and a drop of water might become capable of waſhing

waſhing away all the pollution of original ſin. Take notice, that, to refute this obediential power in matter with reſpect to knowledge, we may urge a proof which it does not appear Dr. Stillingfleet has made uſe of.

It has always ſeemed to me very proper to ſhew the impoſſibility of joining together the three dimenſions and thought in the ſame ſubject. You will find the ſubſtance of this proof in the books which I cite. To purſue that argument, would carry us much beyond the limits which we have ſet to this remark, eſpecially as it would lead us unavoidably to examine another notion imputed to Mr. Locke among others, concerning the manner of God's omnipreſence, by a diffuſion of his ſubſtance. We ſhall content ourſelves at preſent with obſerving, that the unphiloſophicalneſs, as well as abſurdity, of ſeeking recourſe in God's omnipotence for the poſſibility of thoughts being ſuperadded to ſome ſyſtems of matter properly diſpoſed, has been ſufficiently evinced by Dr. Clarke. But there is another point in this ſubject, which we ought not to omit.

In the third letter to the biſhop now under conſideration, our author particularly inſults his lordſhip, who aſſerting that 'it takes off very much from the evidence of immortality, if it depends wholly upon God's giving that, which, of its own nature, it is not capable of.' "This," ſays our author, "I could not have imagined to find in a book written in

defence of the myſtery of the Holy Trinity;" and then makes the following reply. "Any one's not being able to demonſtrate the ſoul to be immaterial, takes off not very much, nor at all, from the evidence of its immortality, if God has revealed that it ſhall be immortal, becauſe the veracity of God is a demonſtration of the truth of what he has revealed; and, in a clear demonſtration, there is as much evidence as any truth can have that is not ſelf evident."

Here the ſophiſm is notorious, in calling ſcripture-proof a demonſtration, which is not pretended to riſe above a moral certainty, or a ſufficient probability; and therefore it undoubtedly admits of degrees, and muſt needs be leſs, where there is no internal evidence from the nature of the thing.

Upon this account, we ſee, St. Paul did not think it enough barely to declare the reſurrection and immortality of the body, but took pains to inforce the credibility of it, by an argument drawn from the analogy of nature; whereas, that of the ſoul is rather ſuppoſed than proved, wherever its condition of happineſs or miſery in that ſtate is explained.

This was the laſt time our author employed the preſs. The aſthma, to which he had been long ſubject, increaſing with his years, began now to ſubdue his conſtitution, and rendered him very infirm; and, in 1700, he reſigned his ſeat at the board of trade, becauſe he could

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no longer bear the air of London on account of that diſorder.

From this time he continued altogether at Oates, in which agreeable retirement, he employed the remaining laſt years of his life entirely in the ſtudy of the Holy Scriptures. His ſtrength began to fail more remarkably than it had done at the entrance of the ſummer before his death, a ſeaſon, which, in former years, had always reſtored him ſome degrees of ſtrength.

This made him ſo very ſenſible of his approaching diſſolution, that, though he neglected none of thoſe means which his ſkill in phyſic had taught him to prolong his life, yet this was done without calling in any other aſſiſtance. At length his legs began to ſwell, and that ſymptom daily increaſing, his ſtrength diminiſhed very viſibly. He had often before this ſpoken of his departure, and always with great compoſure; and now plainly diſcerning how ſhort a time he had to live, he prepared to quit the world.

As he was incapable for a conſiderable time of going to church, he thought proper to receive the Sacrament at home; and two of his friends communicating with him, as ſoon as the office was finiſhed he told the miniſter, that he was in the ſentiments of perfect charity towards all men, and of a ſincere union with the church of Chriſt under whatever name diſtinguiſhed.

He lived ſome months after this; which time he ſpent in acts of piety and devotion; and, the day before his death, lady Maſham being alone with him, and ſitting by his bed-ſide, he exhorted her to regard this world only as a ſtate of preparation for a better; adding, that he had lived long enough, and thanked God for having paſſed his life ſo happily.

He had no ſleep that night, and reſolved to try to riſe the next morning, as he did; and, being carried into his ſtudy, he was placed in an eaſy chair, where he ſlept a conſiderable while at different times; and ſeeming to be a little refreſhed, he would be dreſſed as he uſed to be; and then deſired the lady Maſham, who was reading the Pſalms low while he was dreſſing, to read aloud. She did ſo; and he appeared very attentive, till, feeling the approach of death, he begged of her ladyſhip to break off, and in a few minutes expired, on the twenty-eighth of October, 1704, in the ſeventy-third year of his age.

He was interred in the church of Oates, where there is a decent monument erected to his memory, with an inſcription in Latin, wrote by himſelf, containing all he thought proper to leave concerning his character; but a more particular one was firſt publiſhed by Mr. Peter Coſte, whom we have frequently mentioned; he had known him long, and, ſome few years before he died, had lived with him an as amanuenſis. This his Character was

afterwards

afterwards republiſhed by Mr. Des Maizeaux. Some particulars of this have already been taken notice of in the courſe of this Memoir; but, as many others were afterwards contradicted by Mr. Coſte himſelf, to inſert the whole would be to abuſe the reader. We ſhall therefore lay before him only ſuch parts as we apprehend to have been leaſt controverted; which are as follow:

"Mr. Locke had great knowledge of the world, and of the buſineſs of it. He won people's eſteem by his probity; his wiſdom, his experience, his gentle and obliging manners, gained him the reſpect of his inferiors, the eſteem of his equals, the friendſhip and confidence of thoſe of the higheſt quality. He was at firſt, pretty much diſpoſed to give advice, where he thought it was wanted; but experience of the little effect it had, made him grow more reſerved. In converſation, he was moſt inclined to the uſeful and ſerious turn; but, when occaſion naturally offered, he gave into the free and facetious with pleaſure, and was maſter of a great many entertaining ſtories, which he always introduced properly, and told naturally; nor was he any enemy to raillery when delicate and innocent.

"He loved to talk with mechanics in their own way; and uſed to ſay, That the knowledge of the arts contained more true philoſophy than learned hypotheſes. By putting

queſtions to artificers, he would ſometimes find out a ſecret in their art, not well underſtood by themſelves; and by that means give them views entirely new, which they put in practice to their profit.

"He was ſo far from affecting any airs of ſtudied gravity, that he would ſometimes divert himſelf with imitating it, in order to ridicule it with better ſucceſs. Upon theſe occaſions, he always remembered this maxim of Rochefaucault, which he admired above all others, 'That gravity is a myſtery of the body, in order to conceal the defects of the mind.'

"One thing (continues Mr. Coſte) which thoſe who lived any time with Mr. Locke could not help obſerving in him, was, that he took delight in making uſe of his reaſon in every thing he did; and nothing that was attended with any uſefulneſs ſeemed unworthy of his care; ſo that we may ſay of him what was ſaid of queen Elizabeth, that he was no leſs capable of ſmall things than of great. He often uſed to ſay himſelf, That there was an art in every thing; and it was eaſy to be convinced of it, to ſee the manner in which he went about the moſt trifling thing he did, and always with ſome good reaſon."

But the higheſt eulogium upon him was that of the late queen Caroline, who, on having erected a pavilion in honour of philoſophy, placed

placed therein our author's buſt, on a level with Bacon, Newton, and Clarke, as the four prime Engliſh philoſophers.

In the latter end of his life, he contracted a friendſhip with Anthony Collins, eſq. and left him a remarkable letter to be delivered after his death. It was dated Auguſt 25, 1704, and directed,

" For Anthony Collins, eſq. to be delivered after my deceaſe.

" Dear Sir,

" BY my Will you will ſee, that I had ſome kindneſs for ——— ; and I know no better way to take care of him, than to put him, and what I deſigned for him, into your hands and management.

" The knowledge I have of your virtue of all kinds, ſecures the truſt which, by your permiſſion, I have placed in you ; and the peculiar eſteem and love I have obſerved in the young man for you, will diſpoſe him to be ruled and influenced by you ; ſo that of that I need ſay nothing. But there is one thing which it is neceſſary for me to recommend to your eſpecial care and memory, ———

" May you live long and happy in the enjoyment of health, freedom, content, and all thoſe bleſſings which Providence has beſtowed on you,

and your virtue intitles you to. You loved me living, and will preſerve my memory now I am dead. All the uſe to be made of it is, that, This Life is a Scene of Vanity, that ſoon paſſes away, and affords no Solid Satisfaction, but in the Conſciouſneſs of doing well, and in the Hopes of another Life. This is what I can ſay, upon Experience, what you will find to be true when you come to make up the account.

"Adieu.

"I leave my beſt wiſhes with you.

"JOHN LOCKE."

The latter part of this letter, viz. May you live long, &c. was printed by Mr. Whiſton in the poſtſcript to his Reflections on an anonymous pamphlet, intitled, A Diſcourſe of Free-thinking, in 1713, 8vo. and againſt the end of his Liſt of Suppoſitions and Aſſertions in the late Diſcourſe of the Grounds and Reaſon of the Chriſtian Religion, which are not therein ſupported by any real and authentic evidence, for which ſome ſuch evidence is expected to be produced. London, 1724, 8vo. Mr. Whiſton's deſign is to confront Mr. Collins with the teſtimony of his friend in favour of Revealed Religion.

In the ſame ſpirit Mr. Warburton, who does nothing by halves, reproaches Mr. Collins

lins with the firſt part, but lord Shafteſbury with the latter part, of this their friend's letter.

"Mr. Locke," ſays he in an addreſs to the Free thinkers, "the glory of this age, and the bleſſing of futurity, ſhews us, in the treatment he received from his friend and his pupil, what a believer is to expect from you. It was enough to provoke their ſpleen, that he had ſhewn the reaſonableneſs of Chriſtianity, and had placed all his hopes of happineſs in another life. The intimacy between him and Mr. Collins is well known. Mr. Collins appears to have idolized Mr. Locke while living, and Mr. Locke was convinced Mr. Collins would preſerve his memory when dead. But no ſooner was he gone, than Mr. Collins publicly inſulted a notion of his concerning the poſſibility of conceiving how matter might firſt be made and begin to be; and goes affectedly out of his way to do it. The noble author of the Characteriſtics had received part of his education from this great philoſopher; and it muſt be owned, that this lord had many excellent qualities, both as a man and as a writer. He was temperate, chaſte, honeſt, and a lover of his country. In his writings he has ſhewn, how largely he had imbibed the deep ſenſe, and how naturally he could copy the graceful manner, of Plato. How far Mr. Locke had contributed to the cultivating of theſe good

qualities I will not enquire; but that inveterate rancour with which he indulged Chriſtianity, it is certain he had not from him. It was Mr. Locke's love of him, that ſeems chiefly to expoſe him to his pupil's bittereſt inſults. One of the moſt precious remains of the true piety of this incomparable man are his laſt words to Mr. Collins."

He then tranſcribes the latter part of the juſt cited letter, and proceeds in theſe terms."

" One would imagine, that, if ever the parting breath of pious men, or the laſt precepts of dying philoſophers could claim the reverence of their ſurvivors, this ineſtimable monument of friendſhip and religion had been ſecure from outrage; yet hear in how unworthy, how cruel a manner his noble diſciple apoſtrophizes him on this occaſion.

" Philoſopher, let me hear, concerning life, what the right notion is, and what I am to ſtand to upon occaſion; that I may not, when life ſeems retiring, or has run itſelf out to the very dregs, cry Vanity! condemn the world, and at the ſame time complain, That life is ſhort and paſſing; for why ſo ſhort, indeed, if not found ſweet? Why do I complain both ways? Is vanity, meer vanity, a happineſs? or, Can miſery paſs away too ſoon?" Characteriſticks, Vol. I. p. 302. 3d edit.

" I will

"I will leave the ſtrong reflections that naturally ariſe from hence to the reader, who, I am ſure, will be before hand with me in judging, that Mr. Locke had reaſon to condemn a world that afforded ſuch a pupil."

The Poſthumous Works of our author are ſo well known, that we think it quite unneceſſary to mention them.

THE

THE LIFE OF

JOHN CAMPBEL.

JOHN CAMPBEL, duke of Argyle, was born on the tenth of October, 1678; and, the very day his grandfather ſuffered at Edinburgh, fell out of a window three pair of ſtairs high, without receiving any hurt.

He early diſcovered a ſolid, penetrating judgment, and ready wit; but ſoon taking a liking to the army, he did not plunge ſo far into the depth of ſcience as he might otherwiſe have done, though, before he was fifteen, he had made a great progreſs in claſſical learning, and ſome branches of philoſophy: but, when he came to riper years, he retrieved what he had not attended to ſo ſtrictly in his youth; by reading the beſt authors, with the knowledge of mankind he had acquired by being early engaged in affairs of the greateſt importance, he was enabled to give that luſtre to his natural parts, which ſhone forth on ſo many occaſions.

In 1694, when not full ſeventeen years o age, king William gave him the command o f a regiment.

His

Vertue sculp.

John Duke of Argyle.

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His father, the firſt duke of Argyle, dying in 1703, his grace was ſoon after ſworn of his majeſty's privy-council, appointed captain of the Scotch horſe-guards, and one of the extraordinary lords of ſeſſion.

In 1704, he was inſtalled one of the knights of the Thiſtle; and, in 1705, his grace was made a peer of England, by the title of baron of Chatham, and earl of Greenwich.

At the battle of Ramillies, in 1706, his grace aſſiſted as brigadier-general; and, tho' but a young man, gave ſignal proofs of his valour and conduct. He alſo commanded at the ſiege of Oſtend, as brigadier-general; and in the ſame ſtation at that of Menin; and was in the action of Oudenard, in 1708. At the ſiege of Ghent, in the ſame year, he commanded as major-general, and took poſſeſſion of the town.

In 1709, at the ſiege of Tournay, which was carried on by three attacks, he commanded one of them, in quality of lieutenant-general, which he had been appointed in April before. At the bloody battle of Malplaquet, the ſame year, the duke of Argyle was ordered to diſlodge the enemy from the wood of Sart: which he executed with great bravery and reſolution, pierced through it, and gained a conſiderable poſt; but narrowly eſcaped, having ſeveral muſquet-balls through his cloaths, hat, and perriwig.

In 1711, he was appointed ambaſſador-extraordinary to king Charles III. of Spain, and gene-

generaliſſimo of the Britiſh forces in that kingdom.

On the eighth of September, 1712, the ceſſation of arms between Great-Britain and France, was notified to the imperial general; upon which the duke of Argyle ſailed with the Engliſh troops to Portmahon; where, when he arrived, he cauſed the emperor's colours to be taken down, and the Britiſh to be hoiſted on the ſeveral caſtles of that iſland; the governor refuſing to take an oath of fidelity to her majeſty, had leave to retire; but the reſt of the magiſtrates complied.

After his grace's return into England, he did not remain long in the favour of the miniſtry, and heartily joined in oppoſing all ſecret intrigues againſt the proteſtant ſucceſſion; and, in 1713-14, on the fourth of March, the duke was deprived of all the employments he had under the crown.

I muſt now return back to the civil employments of his grace. In 1705, the miniſtry being very deſirous of an union between the two kingdoms, his grace was appointed her majeſty's high-commiſſioner to the next ſeſſion of the Scotch parliament.

In 1713, his grace made a ſpeech in the houſe of lords, for diſſolving the union, occaſioned by a malt-bill being brought into the houſe for Scotland; which was carried in the negative by four voices only.

In 1715, the duke was made general of the forces againſt the rebels; and went to Edinburgh,

burgh, where he publiſhed a proclamation for increaſing the forces; from whence he marched to Leith, and ſummoned the citadel, into which Brig. M'Intoſh had retired, to ſurrender; but, upon M'Intoſh ſending anſwer, that he was determined to hold out, and neither to give nor take quarter, if they engaged, the duke, who could not carry the place for want of artillery, thought proper to retire, and return to Edinburgh.

I ſhall not enter into the particulars of this rebellion; during the courſe of which, his grace exerted himſelf in the moſt proper manner, againſt the enemies of his majeſty king George and the proteſtant ſucceſſion; and, after having put the army into winter-quarters, he returned to London, and arrived there on the ſixth of March, and was moſt graciouſly received by his majeſty; but, in a few months, to the ſurprize of all mankind, he was turned out of all his places; the reaſon for which is not to be aſſigned, without it was his grace's merciful diſpoſition. But the prince of Wales was pleaſed to expreſs an eſteem for him which continued many years, both while he was under the diſpleaſure of his majeſty and after the reconciliation.

But to go back to his grace's conduct in parliament. In June, 1715, when the famous ſchiſm bill was brought into the houſe of lords, he oppoſed it with great zeal and ſtrength of argument. In the debate on the mutiny-bill, he

he oppoſed any extenſion of the military power, and urged the reduction of forces.

In the beginning of 1718-19, his grace was again admitted into his majeſty's favour, who was pleaſed to appoint him lord-ſteward of his houſehold, and to create him duke of Greenwich.

On this occaſion the following compliment was made him by the reverend Mr. James Ward; which, as it will ſhew the high eſteem he was held in by all ranks of people at the time, we ſhall inſert.

Mindleſs of fate, in theſe low vile abodes,
Tyrants have oft uſurp'd the name of Gods:
But, that the Mortal might be thought Divine,
The Herald ſtrait new-modell'd all his line;
And venal prieſts, with well-diſſembled lye,
Preambled to the crowd the mimic Deity.

Not ſo great Saturn's ſon, imperial Jove,
He reigns, unqueſtion'd, in his realms above;
No title from Deſcent He need infer,
His red right arm proclaims the Thunderer.

This, Campbel, be thy pride, illuſtrious peer!
Alike to ſhine diſtinguiſh'd in your ſphere:
All Merit but Your Own You may diſdain,
And Kings have been your Anceſtors in vain.

When

When the affair of captain Porteous was debated in the houſe of lords, he ſtood up zealouſly in defence of the liberties of the city of Edinburgh. In 1739, when the convention of Spain was brought before the houſe, for their approbation, he ſpoke with warmth againſt it, and in the ſame ſeſſion oppoſed a vote of credit, as there was no limited ſum in the meſſage ſent by his majeſty.

On the fifteenth of April, 1740, the houſe took into conſideration the ſtate of the nation; upon which occaſion his grace made a ſet ſpeech; wherein he laid forth, with great ſtrength of argument, the miſconduct of the miniſtry, ſhewing a tender regard for the perſon of his ſovereign, while he exerted an unfeigned zeal for the good of the community.—Soon after his grace was diſmiſſed from all his employments.

Upon the election of a new parliament, on the application of the city of Edinburgh, and ſeveral corporations, who addreſſed him in form at that time, he pointed out to them, men of ſteady, honeſt, and loyal principles, and independent fortunes; and, where he had any intereſt, he endeavoured to prevail with the electors to chuſe ſuch men.

When the parliament was opened, the miniſter found he had not influence to maintain his ground; and a parliamentary enquiry into his conduct was ſet on foot; he was diſcharged his poſt, and created a peer, with the title of earl of Orford.

The

The duke, who was now become the darling of the people, was reſtored to all his places; but, in a few months afterwards, finding that the ſame meaſures were going to be purſued as before, he reſigned them all again. From this time he lived retired, and affected privacy.

His grace had been, for many years, ſeized with a paralytic diſorder, which now encreaſed, and he lingered on till the third of September, 1743, when he departed this life.

His grace married, when young, Mary, daughter of John Brown, eſq. and niece of ſir Charles Duncomb, lord-mayor of London; but ſhe dying in 1708, without iſſue, he married Jane, daughter of Thomas Warburton, of Winnington, in Cheſhire, eſq. By her he had four daughters; the eldeſt of which married the earl of Dalkeith, ſon and heir-apparent to the duke of Buccleugh; and the ſecond to the earl of Strafford; both in his life-time.

His grace was a tender father, and an indulgent maſter; was delicate in the choice of his friends, but when choſen, very conſtant to them; he was ſlow of promiſing favours; but when promiſed, the performance was ſure; though he often choſe rather to purchaſe preferment for his relations than aſk it.

He was naturally compaſſionate to all mankind; and, when he met the man of merit in want, his bounty was very extenſive; nor would

would he keep the man he was either unable or unwilling to ſerve in ſuſpence.

He preſerved a dignity in his behaviour which was often wrongfully miſtook for pride; but he was naturally facetious, which he gave way to amongſt his ſelect friends.

There has been a noble monument erected in Weſtminſter-abbey to his memory, Sir William Fermor, while his grace was living, having left five hundred pounds to defray the expence of it, out of the regard he had for that great general and true patriot.

END OF THE TENTH VOLUME.

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72
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